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Saroja Bhate

S. D. Laddu



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[2003

A GLANCE AT THE WORD *VARṆA* IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

By

UMA CHAKRAVARTY

The purport of the word *varṇa* as used in the majority of the modern Indian languages today is more or less identical with the signification of this word by the Vedic seers. If we give a further thought on the meaning of this word it will be clear to us that basically *varṇa* signifies distinguishing factor of one thing/person from another though they belong to the same genre. What the Vedic authors said about *ārya varṇa*, *śūdra varṇa*, *asura varṇa* etc. was : by that qualification they distinguished one type of people from another i.e. people living in India at that time.

EXEGETIC OBSERVATION

1. According to M. Monier Williams *varṇa* which has been formed from the root *vr̥* meaning 'to cover', means a covering (*āvaraṇa*), outward appearance (*rūpa*), colour (*varṇa*), beauty (*kānti*), lustre (*dīpti*), class of men, tribe, order, caste (probably) due to contrast of colour between the dark of the aboriginal tribes and fair of their conquerors.

2. Along with most of the above mentioned meanings of *varṇa* Mayrhofer refers to the corresponding Avestan *varānah* meaning colour, especially as a sign of

blooming health. (Bartholomae, 1372)¹ Mayrhofer, as well as Monier Williams etc. have also stated the other meanings of this word: a letter, sound, vowel, syllable, word, a musical sound or note etc.

3. According to some in Slavonic language *varnu* means 'black', 'a crow', and in the Lithuanian language (Baltic) also *várnas* means 'a crow.'^{1a}

This indicates that perhaps, originally *varṇa* signified black colour and subsequently colour in general so that it could distinguish black from fair; black colour happens to be the complexion of the defeated Indians in contrast to the fair-complexion immigrants.²

FOURFOLD SIGNIFICATION

After a brief observation on the exegetic aspect of the word *varṇa* we shall delineate on the fourfold signification of it which are :

I. *rūpa* (outward appearance), *varṇa* (colour), *kānti* (beauty), *dīpti* (lustre)

II. *nivāraka* (that which resists)

III. A letter, sound, vowel, syllable etc.

IV. Social order / status / gradation / stratification

I. *rūpa*, *kānti*, *dīpti*

The words *rūpa*, *kānti* and *dīpti*, are so much close to each other in meaning that very often it becomes difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The word *varṇa* which in some of the Ṛgvedic occurrences has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *rūpa*, may as well be interpreted as *kānti* or *dīpti*.

rūpa (= hue, colour)

tvé agne sumatim bhíkṣamāṇā

diví śrávo dadhire yajñíyāsaḥ /

náktā ca cakrúr uśásā vírūpe

kṛṣṇám ca várṇam aruṇám ca sáṁ dhuḥ ||

RV I.73.7³

'Agni, with thee, soliciting the favour, the holy ones have gained glory in heaven. They made the Night and Dawn of different colours, and set the black and purple hues together.' - Griffith

kānti (= loveliness)

The lovely delicate beauty of the Maruts, Indra's associates, who just have showered rains, has been described in the following half stanza :

niméghamānā átyena pājasā |
suścandrām váṛṇam dadhire supésasam ||

RV II.34.13 cd⁴

'They, with impetuous vigour, sending down the rain have taken to themselves a bright and lovely hue.' - Griffith.

dīpti (= splendour)

In a prayer to the goddess Uṣas we read :

kadā no devír amṛtasya pátnīḥ |
sūro váṛṇena tatanann uṣásah ||

RV IV.5.13 cd⁵

'When will the Goddesses, the immortal's Spouses, the Dawns, spread over us the Sun-gods splendour?' - Griffith.

II. *nivāraka* (that which resists)

Sāyaṇa has interpreted *varṇa* as *nivāraka* in several places while interpreting *varṇa* occurring in the Rgvedic verses.

In the verse mentioned below the word *varṇam* interpreted as *aniṣṭanivārakam* by Sāyaṇa rightly suits the context. This also is worth noting here that Mayrhofer (Lieferung 19, p.154) mentions 'Wehr' (= resistance) as one of the meanings of *varṇa*.

ó tyé nára índram ūtáye gurṇū
cit tān sadyó ádhvano jagamyāt |
devāso manyurṁ dāsasya ścamnan
té na ā vakṣan suvitāya váṛṇam ||

RV I.104.2⁶

'These men have come to Indra for assistance: shall he not quickly come upon these pathways? May the gods quell the fury of the Dāsa, and may they lead our folk to happy fortune.' - Griffith

So, according to Griffith, *varṇam* (d) means here folk. Geldner also translates *varṇam* (d) as Rasse(=race, folk). Sāyaṇa rightly interprets *varṇam* as *nivārakam*. Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the third and the fourth line:

*devāsaḥ te devāḥ naḥ asmākaṁ suvitāya suṣṭhu prāptavyāya yajñasya | varṇam
aniṣṭanivārakam indram ā vakṣan ā vahantu |*

This is a verse to Indra.

III. Letter, sound, vowel, syllable, word, etc.

Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā III.3.3 contains the word *varṇābhyām*. Here *varṇa* means syllable(*akṣara*). This *Samhitā* in course of explaining the ten-lettered *Virāṭ* metre states : *dvyakṣaram loma dvyakṣarā tvag dvyakṣaram māmsam dvyakṣaram asthi dvyakṣarā majjā tad daśa daśākṣarā Virāṭ*. The *AitBr* (V.32) while explaining the source of 'om' says : *tāni śukrāṇy abhyatapat tebhyo' bhitaptebhyas trayo varṇā ajāyantākāra ukaro makāra iti tām anekadhā samabharat tad etad om iti |* 'He (=Prajāpati) brooded over these (*bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ*) pure ones; from them, when brooded over, the three sounds were born; the letter *a*, the letter *u* and the letter *m*. Them he brought together; that made the word *om*.' (Keith, HOS. 25, p. 256)

The *TaiU* (I.2.1) states : *om śikṣām vyākhyāsyāmaḥ varṇaḥ svaraḥ mātṛā balam* etc. One of the salient points of discussion of the *Prātiśākhya* literature is the linguistic, particularly the phonetic, aspects of the Vedic texts. To quote a few instances : *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya* I.15 deals with the Upasargas, the *Śuklayajurveda-prātiśākhya* (VIII. 32-37) with the *uccāraṇasthāna* (place of articulation) of different letters (*varṇas*), again the same *Prātiśākhya* (I. 35) with the *upadhā* (cf. *antyād varṇād*) and II. 35 with the accent of letters (*varṇas*). The 47th *paṭala* of the *AVPari* is entitled *Varṇapaṭala*. The thirty-five *sūtras* of this section deal with : *varṇa*, *varga*, *śruti*, *sandhi*, *gaṇa* etc. In this *paṭala* of the *AVPari* the word *varṇa* occurs seventeen times. Precisely, *AVPari* deals with *varṇa* in a general way.⁷

IV. Social order / status / gradation / stratification

A. THE SAMHITĀS

In the whole of the *Samhitā* literature the word *varṇa* in the sense of social order / status / gradation / stratification occurs only twice. The *RV*.II.12.4 is an Indra-hymn, *Gr̥tsamada*, the seer of the hymn eulogises Indra : he who chased the *dāsa varṇa* underground (II. 12.4b) (*yó dāsam várṇam ádharam guhākaḥ*). The word *varṇa* was used for the second time in *RV* in poet Viśvāmitra's narration of Indra's

diametrically opposite treatment towards his Aryan followers on the one hand and his non-Vedic aboriginal enemies (the *dasyus*) on the other, by protecting the former and killing the latter.

hatvī dāsyūn prā āryam vārṇam āvat (RV. III.34.9d)

‘by killing the *dasyus* he protected the *ārya varṇa* (people).’

B. THE *BRĀHMAṆAS*

AitBr VI.36 narrates that, in the days of yore Indra, being assisted by *Brhaspati*, suppressed the rebellious *asura varṇa*, and that now also, the sacrificers, assisted by Indra and *Brhaspati*, kill the attacking *asura varṇa*.⁸

TaiBr III.12.9.2 tells us about the genesis of *vaiśya*, *kṣatriya* and *brāhmaṇa* *varṇas*:

rgbhyo jātān vaiśyam varṇam āhuḥ
yajurvedam kṣatriyasya āhur yonim |
sāmavedo brāhmaṇānām prastūtiḥ ||

It is said that *vaiśya varṇa* was born of *ṛks*, *Yajurveda* is said to be the source of *kṣatriya*, *Sāmaveda* is the mother of the *brāhmaṇas*. *TaiBr* I.2.6.7, *TāṇḍBr* V.5.14 and *JaimiBr* II.405 narrate the selfsame story almost in the same words. The story is about a fight between the one belonging to the *ārya varṇa* and the other belonging to the *śūdra varṇa* over a round-shaped piece of leather resembling the sun and they made the *ārya* win over *śūdra varṇa*. *JaimiBr* also adds that in the days of yore the gods (*devas*) and the *asuras* fought over a round skin resembling the sun and that in this fight the *asuras* were defeated. In this story we can clearly see distinct social status of the two *varṇas*, the higher being enjoyed by the *brāhmaṇas* and the lower by the *śūdras*.⁹

ŚatBr states in clear terms : *catvāro vai varṇāḥ brāhmaṇo rājanyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraḥ* (V.5.4.9).

‘For, there are four castes, the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Rājanya*, the *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra*.’ (Eggeling SBE XLI, p. 266) *ŚatBr* VI.4.4.9 relates the Animal sacrifice. By the utterance of *yajus* the Fire (here in the form of an animal) is taken away from the *śūdra*. Agni is too high to be associated with the low *śūdra*: *athāpādatte agna āyāhi vītaye ity avitava ity etat tadenam brahmaṇā yajuḥ aītasmaḥ chaudrāt varṇād apādatte* ‘He then takes it off, with O Agni, come hither to the feast ! - that is, ‘in order to

rejoice.' By means of the brahman, the *yajus* (formula) he thus removes him (Agni) from the *śūdra*' (Eggeling, SBE XLI, p. 226)

As a part of the Animal Sacrifice a procession of animals is led by a horse, because horse symbolizes *kṣatriya varṇa* and the *kṣatriya* always leads and the others follow him. On their return journey, the goat, which is the representative of the *brāhmaṇa* leads them. Thus the *brahmaṇa* goes first and the other three *varṇas* follow him. The ass, which symbolizes the *vaiśya* and the *śūdra*, never goes first, and in actual life also a *brāhmaṇa* and a *kṣatriya* never follow a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra*. Thus they avoided confusion between good and bad. Moreover, the *vaiśya* and the *śūdra* are thus enclosed by two higher *varṇas* i.e., the *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya*, and are consequently subordinated. In this passage, i.e. *ŚatBr* VI. 4.4.13 *varṇa* occurs thrice: *varṇa* once and *varṇāḥ* twice.

ŚatBr (XIV. 4.2.23-27) narrates a kind of creation myth. Brahman, in course of creating the whole existence, created *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya*, but that was not enough for him. Then he created *śūdra*, and his process of creation became complete. Pūṣan nourishes the whole existence. Similarly, *śūdra*'s duty is to serve.¹⁰

Bṛhad-Ārṇyakopaniṣad (I.4.6) repeated the story of the creation of four *varṇas* as referred to above. This Upaniṣad declares in crystal clear language the status of a *śūdra* in the society. It equalizes Pūṣan with a *śūdra* because Pūṣan nourishes. So, Pūṣan is the earth, which nourishes the whole existence. Thus a *śūdra*'s status as servant was destined. And that was the will of the Creator (Brahman).

Śvetāśvataropaniṣad IV.1, states that the creator has no *varṇa*, but by his supreme power he possesses many:

*ya eko' varṇo bahudhā śaktiyogād
varṇān anekān nihitārtho dadhāti |*

In the whole of the Upaniṣadic literature the word *varṇa* in the sense of social order occurs thrice : once in the *BṛĀraU* (= *ŚarBr*. XIV.4.2.23) and twice in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*.

C. THE VEDĀNGAS

Through the word *varṇa* the Vedāṅgas give us a very positive picture of the Indians belonging to the four social orders living in the last phase of the Vedic age with the limitations they had been given according to their respective *varṇas*.

ĀpaśŚ (XXIV.1.1-2) states : 'I shall explain sacrifice. This belongs to the

three *varṇas*: *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya*. 'yajñam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ sa trayāṇām varṇānām brāhmaṇarājanyavaiśyasya ca'¹¹

The *sūdra* had no right to sacrifice. He, however, belonged to the four *varṇas* : *catvāro varṇā brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyasūdrāḥ* (*ĀpaDS* I.4) *Brāhmaṇa* was the best of all *varṇas* : *brāhmaṇo vai varṇānām śreṣṭhaḥ* (*BaudhŚS* XXVI.33.7). And only *brāhmaṇa* had the right to invoke the *Āhavanīya* fire.¹² The right to offer the sacrificial cake to the *Agniśoma* was also possessed only by the *brāhmaṇa* : *agniśomiyo brāhmaṇasya syāt* (*BhārŚS* V.14.4). From the story of *Kakṣīvat*'s marriage with the princess, the daughter of king *Svanaya* who was so much impressed after he had seen *Kakṣīvat* of divine beauty that he thought of marrying his daughter to him, if of course *varṇa*, *gotra* etc. permit.¹³ Such was not the case earlier as we can gather from the stories of marriage of king *Śaryāta*'s daughter *Sukanyā* with the sage *Cyavana* *ŚatBr* (IV.1.5.6-7), or of the very ordinary person *Raikva* - a *sūdra*, suffering from skin disease with the beautiful daughter of king *Jānaśrutipautrāyaṇa* (*Chāndogyopaniṣad* IV.I-II) and the like. Consideration of *varṇa*, *gotra* etc. seems now to have become a pre-condition for fixing a marriage.

Superiority of the higher *varṇas* is more explicitly stated in the *Dharmasūtras*. The higher *varṇas* are to be worshipped by the lower *varṇas*.¹⁴ The *sūdra* has to serve the other three *varṇas*.¹⁵ The inferior *varṇa* has to serve his superior *varṇa*, like the *vaiśya* the *kṣatriya* and the *kṣatriya* the *brāhmaṇa*.¹⁶ According to the same *Dharmasūtra* the relationship of a *brāhmaṇa* of ten years and a *kṣatriya* of hundred years should be like that of a father and a son.¹⁷ After being initiated for studentship (*brahmacarya*) by the *ācārya* the *brāhmacārin* goes for begging alms to the ladies. While asking for alms he should start his sentence with *bhavati* if he begs of a *brāhmaṇa* woman, *bhavati* should be in the middle of the sentence if she is a *kṣatriya* woman and *bhavati* should be at the end of the sentence if the *brahmacārin* begs of a *vaiśya* woman.¹⁸ The same *Dharmasūtra* tells us about the status of the children born of inter-*varṇa* (connibial) marriages :

		child
Mother, father	<i>brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>brāhmaṇa</i>
Mother, father	<i>kṣatriya</i> + <i>brāhmaṇa</i>	<i>sūta</i>
Mother, father	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> + <i>vaiśya</i>	<i>māgadha</i>
Mother, father	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> + <i>sūdra</i>	<i>caṇḍāla</i> ¹⁹

Jaiminiya-grhyasūtra prescribes in connection with the tonsure ceremony (*cūḍākarana*) of the child that after the child's head is shaved, the hair and the rest of the blades of the *darbha* grass should be put on ground mixed with bulldung

(*gomaye bhūmipṛṣṭhe*) in the case of a *brāhmaṇa* child in front and in case of other two *varṇas*, at the back.²⁰

Pāraskara-gr̥hyasūtra I.4.8 prescribes that a *brāhmaṇa* may have three wives according to the *varṇa*, i.e. *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya*.²¹

SUMMING UP

The survey of the word *varṇa* as used by the Vedic poets, whose corresponding old Iranian form was '*varθna*' meaning colour, we get more or less a total story of around one thousand years of the Vedic people covering their religious, literary, academic, political and social life. This word bears manifold purport like I. *rūpa* (outward appearance), *kānti* (loveliness), *dīpti* (splendour), II. *nivāraka* (that which resists), III. letter, syllable, sound, vowel, IV. class, race, social order etc. The word *varṇa* through its grammatical significations like letter, sound, vowel, syllable etc. reveals to us the Vedic seers, deep linguistic consciousness. We have been introduced to this aspect of their knowledge right from its early phase, i.e. *Samhitā* literature (cf. *MaiS.* III.3.3) to the *Prātisākhya* literature belonging to the last phase of the Vedic period.

Even though the *RV* X.90.12 (commonly known as belonging to later *Samhitā* period) mentions four divisions of people, i.e. *brāhmaṇa*, *rājanya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*²², the word *varṇa* however occurs only twice in the whole of the *Samhitā* literature and that is in the *RV* II.12.4: *dāsa varṇa* and III. 34.9 *ārya varṇa*. With the lapse of time along with the development of the society the four *varṇas* i.e. *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra* earned their distinction, *brāhmaṇa* being placed at the topmost position and the *śūdra* at the lowest. These four divisions of people took more distinct and rigid forms through the rules framed by the *Śrautasūtras*, *Dharmasūtras* and the *Gr̥hyasūtras*. By means of the vehicle of one single word *varṇa* one can travel through the different spheres of the Vedic life right from its inception to its end.

Abbreviations

AitBr	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
ĀpaDs	Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra
ĀpaGS	Āpastamba-Gr̥hyasūtra
ĀpaŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda

AV(P)	Atharvaveda (Paippalāda)
AV Pari	Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa
BaudhŚS	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra
BrĀraU	Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad
DaiBr	Daivata-Brāhmaṇa
JaimiBr	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
KāthS	Kāthaka- Samhitā
MaiS	Maitrāyaṇī- Samhitā
Nir	Nirukta
PārGS	Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra
RV	Rgveda
ṢaḍviBr	Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
ŚatBr	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
TaiBr	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TaiPrāti	Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya
TaiS	Taittirīya Samhitā
TāṇḍBr	Tāṇḍya-MahāBrāhmaṇa

Notes

1) Mayrhofer, Manfred - 1964, *Kuzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Lieferung 19, p. 134; cf Bartholomae, Christain : *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trubner, 1904, p. 1372: *varānah* n. Farbe, insbes. als Zeichen bluehender Gesundheit.

1a) A question may arise that there are white crows also. Raven is white-necked, the *Corvus albicollis* of Africa has white colour. American crows, *Corvus Brachyrhynchos* show some white feathers. Completely white young American crow has been photographed by Maxie and Jim Harwood of Piedmont, Ohio, in June 1998. (Source: Internet). It may be added here that these crows, partially or completely white, are rather rare species.

2) See Monier- Williams, M. 1956 (1st. Ed., 1899) *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, p. 924.

3) Also see *RV* I.92.10; 96.5; 113.2; II.1.12; IX.105.4; X.124.7 et al; *AV* XI.16.17 *AV(P)* XVI.53.13; *TaiS* II.4.11.6; *KaṭhS* VIII.3; *JaimiBr* I.220; III 304; *TāṇḍBr* VI.6.8; *ŚatBr* I.1.4.3; *ṢaḍviBr* IV.7.2; *DaiBr* II.1,2; *BaudhŚS* XIV.15.16; *Nir* III.31; *AVPari* LVIII 1.8

4) Also see *RV* II.4.5; IX.104.4.

5) Also see *RV* III.34.5

6) Also see *RV* IX.65.8; 71.8, X.3.3 - This is intended to be mentioned that the word *varṇa* occurring in the stanzas mentioned here has been interpreted by Sāyaṇa as 'that which resists' and suits the context.

7) Also see *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* I.1.24-25; *RkPrā.* II.7; *AV-Pari* XXXXVII 1.5 etc.

8) *viśo adavīr abhyācarantīr bṛhaspatinā yujā indraḥ sasāha iti* / ... *tathaiv aitad yajamānā indrabṛhaspatibhyām eva yujā asuryam varṇam abhidāsantam apaghnate iti* / also see *AirBr* VIII.4

9) I am quoting the relevant text from the *TaiBr* and *JaimiBr*: *TaiBr* I.2.6.7 : *brāhmaṇas ca śūdraś ca carmakarte vyāvachchete* / *daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ* / *asuryaḥ śūdraḥ* / *ime'rātsur ime subhūtam akraṇṇ ity anyataro brūyāt* / *ima udvāsikāriṇa ime durbhūtam akraṇṇ ity anyatarah* / *yad ev aiśām sukṛtaṁ yā rāddhiḥ* / *tad anyataroā bhiśrīṇāti* / *yad ev aiśām duṣkṛtaṁ yā rāddhiḥ* / *tad anyataro'pahanti* / *brāhmaṇaḥ saṁjayati* / *amum ev ādityam bhrātrvyasya saṁvindate, iti* /

JaimiBr II.405 : *āryam ca varṇam śaudraṁ coparyupari cātvālaṁ vastājine vyāyamayanty ārṣabhe vā carmaṇi* / *tayor antarvedy āryo varṇo bhavati bahirvedi śaudraḥ* / *tayor āryeṇa varṇena śaudraṁ varṇam jyāpayanti* / *devās ca vāsuraś cā'musmin āditye'spardhanta* / *taṁ devā asurāṇām avṛñjata* / *tad yad āryeṇa varṇena śaudraṁ varṇam jyāpayantyā, etam eva tad dviṣato bhrātrvyasya vṛñjate* /

10) cf. *ŚatBr* XIV. 4.2.25 *sa naiva vyabhyavat* / *sa śaudraṁ varṇam asṛjata pūṣaṇam iyaṁ vai pūṣeyam hidaṁ sarvaṁ yad idaṁ kīm ca* /

11) Cf. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* I.1.1-3 : *yajñam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ sa trayāṇām varṇānām brāhmaṇakṣatriyayor vaiśyasya ca* Also see *BaudhāŚS* XVIII.2.14

12) *BaudhŚS* IV.4.1 : *dakṣiṇatas tiṣṭhann āhavanīyam abhimantrayate* /

sa eṣa brāhmaṇasya aiva syān-netarayor varṇayoḥ ||

13) *Bṛhaddevatā* III.143-144:

*taṁ rājā svanayo nāma bhāvayavyasuto vrajan
krīdārthaṁ sānugo' paśyat svabhāryaḥ svapurohitaḥ /
athainaṁ rūpasampannaṁ dṛṣtvā devasutopamaṁ
kanyādāne matim cakre varṇagoatrāvirodhataḥ ||*

14) *ĀpaDS* I.4.13.2 : *pūjā varṇajyāyasām kāryā*

15) *Ibid* I.1.1.7 : *śuśrūṣā śūdrasy etareṣām varṇānām* Also see *ibid* I.1.1.8.

16) See *ibid* I.1.1.8; II.5.11.8.

17) *Ibid* I.4.14.25 :

*daśavarṣastu brāhmaṇaḥ śatavarṣas tu kṣatriyaḥ /
pitāputrau sma tau viddhi tayos tu brāhmaṇaḥ pitā ||*

18) *Gautama Dharmasūtra* II.43 : *ādimadhyānteṣu bhavacchabdaḥ prayojyo
varṇānupūrvyeṇa*

19) *Ibid* IV.18 : *brāhmaṇy ajījanat putrān varṇebhya ānupūrvyāt brāhmaṇa
sūtamāgadha caṇḍālān*

20) *Jaiminīyagr̥hyasūtra* I.11.13-16 :

*tena āyuse vapāmi suślokāya svastaye ity evaṁ paścāt tathottaraḥ pratimantram
keśām ca darbhapīṇjuliṣeṣāmś cānaduhe gomaye bhūmipṛṣṭhe nidadhyād brāhmaṇasya
purastāt paścād itarayor varṇayoḥ |*

21) *PāraGS* I.4.8 : *tisro brāhmaṇasya varṇānupūrvyeṇa*

22) The old Iranian also had four orders of people in their society: The priest (Āθravan), the charioteer (Raθaêstar), the tiller (vāstrya) and the artisan (Huitay). See B. K. Chatterjee : "Caste system in the Avesta" in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference (pp 97-98) Also see G.S. Ghurye, 1932, Caste and Race in India, London pp. 125-141; Apte, V. M., 1940, p. 39; Ghoshal, U.N. 1953, A History of Hindu Public Life, Calcutta, p. 7 and others.



ON ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCES IN
VYĀSA-DHṚTARĀṢṬRA-SAMVĀDA
IN THE *BHĪṢMAPARVAN* OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

B. N. NARAHARI ACHAR

Abstract

Contrary to the general belief that the references to astronomical phenomena alluded to during the conversation between Vyāsa and Dhṛtarāṣṭra in *Bhīṣmaparvan* of the epic *Mahābhārata* are confusing and contradictory, it is clearly demonstrated that the description is very systematic and that the references to astronomical phenomena are quite consistent in the context of ill omens within the *parvan* and that the only true references to planetary positions are consistent with those in the *Udyogaparvan* also.

Key words: Astronomy in *Mahābhārata*

1. Introduction

It has been well known that the epic *Mahābhārata*¹ contains over one hundred and fifty references to astronomical events² scattered throughout the text and a majority of these references occur in the *Bhīṣmaparvan*. These references are contained mainly in chapters 2 and 3, and occur in the context of Vyāsa's description of ill omens on the eve of the war to Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Practically every scholar³ has criticized these references as confusing and being contradictory. It is thought that every planet is described as being at least at two different positions at the same time. While most scholars have criticized the apparent contradiction, the opinions vary from just plain criticism⁴ to ridicule⁵, or to utter condemnation⁶. Only a few scholars have considered the references in this *parvan* to be of any real value⁷. Some have considered only the references to eclipses⁸, others have considered selected planetary positions⁹. Very few of them have considered all the astronomical references in the *parvan*. Even those who consider all of the references in these two chapters, recognize the apparent inconsistency and try to explain them¹⁰ in terms of astrological terminology such as *vedhā* and *pīḍā* etc. Others have tried to reinterpret the references by introducing additional hypothesis. Daftari¹¹ introduced the idea that there are

two sets of astronomical data and then tried to rearrange the original text by switching the stated positions of *nakṣatras puṣya* and *śravaṇa*. Sharma¹² advanced the hypothesis that Vyāsa met Dhṛtarāṣṭra on more than one occasion and that the astronomical references actually correspond to different times, but have been compiled together at one place. There is no evidence, textual or otherwise, for such hypotheses and in any case, these attempts have not been successful in accounting for all planetary positions.

The purpose of this note is to show (i) that the criticisms directed against these descriptions are unwarranted, (ii) that Vyāsa is very systematic in his descriptions of the ill omens and (iii) that when understood in their proper context, there is no contradiction in the astronomical references and that they constitute a coherent unit.

Astronomical References from *Bhīṣmaparvan*

As is well known, Vyāsa meets with Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the eve of the war and describes to him a whole set of ill omens he has seen. These descriptions of ill omens run over two chapters in the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, and the astronomical references occur in four separate sections: *śloka*s (20-23) and *śloka* (32) in chapter 2, and *śloka*s (11-17) and *śloka*s (24-29) in chapter 3. The scholars who have studied these astronomical references have only seen the apparent contradictions, but have not appreciated how systematic Vyāsa is in his description. Just because the descriptions appear in four different sections, some¹³ have suggested that they belong to different times. Or, what is worse, some scholars¹⁴ have suggested that some of the *śloka*s belong to *Sabhāparvan* ! However, the true situation is quite different. The astronomical references can be grouped in four different segments because they pertain to four different aspects of ill omens as will be shown below. The tradition of recognizing astronomical ill omens can be traced to *Atharvaveda*¹⁵ and its *Parīśiṣṭas*¹⁶ and the ill omens described in the epic are consistent with the tradition.

The First segment

*śloka*s (20-23) of chapter 2 constitute the first segment. Here Vyāsa described the omens foretelling the imminent war. Before describing the ill omens, he makes it clear that a great disaster is bound to occur, just as indicated by the ill omens:

*iha yuddhe mahārāja bhaviṣyati mahāṅkṣayaḥ /
yathemāni nimittāni bhayāyadyopalakṣyate // MB (VI. 2. 16)*

“Oh King, a great destruction will occur in this war just as it is indicated by these omens, which are harbingers of great calamity”.

The ill omens

- (i) *ubhe pūrvāpare sandhye nityaṁ paśyāmi bhārata /*
udayāstamane sūryaṁ kabandhaiḥ parivāritam // MB (VI. 2. 20)

“Oh Bhārata, I observe the sun every day both in the morning at sunrise and in the evening at sunset and have seen him as if encircled by long arms (i.e., encircled by a comet) ”.

- (ii) *śvetalohitaparyantāḥ kṛṣṇagrīvāḥ savidyutaḥ /*
trivarnāḥ parighāḥ sandhau bhānu māvārayantyuta // MB (VI. 2. 21)

“I see the sun surrounded by halos on all sides, halos which are tricolored, dark in the middle and white and red towards the edges and accompanied by lightning”.

- (iii) *jvalitārkendu nakṣatraṁ nirviśeṣadinakṣapam /*
ahorātraṁ mayā dṛṣṭaṁ tatksayāya bhaviṣyati // MB (VI. 2. 22)

“I have been watching days and nights the fierce sun, the moon and the stars shining incessantly and have been unable to distinguish between day and night. This surely forebodes utter destruction”.

- (iv) *alakṣyaḥ prabhayā hīnaḥ paurṇamāsīṁ ca kārtikīm /*
candrobhūdagnivarnaśca samavarṇe nabhasthale // MB (VI. 2. 23)

“On the full moon night of *kārtika*, the moon with fiery tinge was hardly visible, devoid of glory, the horizons were also of the same hue”.

It is clear that the intent of Vyāsa is to impress upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra that there is an imminent war, the armies are standing facing each other ready to fight and that war will bring about utter destruction. This has also been indicated by the ill omens.

Vyāsa begins by saying that he observes the Sun every day both in the morning at sunrise and in the evening at sunset. He has noted the appearance of halos and some comets, which appear to enclose the Sun as if with long arms. The moon had become lustreless on the lunar eclipse day of *Kārtika Pūrṇimā*. The class of omens thought to indicate an imminent war is quite consistent with the tradition going back to *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa*.

Consistency with tradition

The verses quoted above can be compared with similar verses (given below with a free flowing translation) from *Atharvaveda-Pariśiṣṭa* describing *yuddhalakṣaṇa*, omens indicative of war.

(a) *arkebhraparighādinām pariveṣorkacandrayoḥ /*

(b) *lākṣālohitavarṇatvaṁ sarveṣāṁ ca vicāraṇam // AP (64.5.7)*

“One should always consider the line of clouds and halos around the sun and the moon and observe whether they appear red or not in colour”.

(c) *nīlalohitaparyantam kṛṣṇagrīvaṁ savidyutam / AP (61.1.4)*

“Which are blue and red towards the edges and dark in the middle and accompanied by lightning”.

(d) *trivarṇe parighe vāpi trivarṇairvā balāhakaiḥ /*

udayāstamayamīyādyad sūryaḥ kadācana // AP (61.1.15)

(e) *pṛthivyām rājavarṇasyānām mahad bhayam upasthitam // AP (61.1.15)*

“Whenever the sun is surrounded at sunrise or sunset by tri-colored clouds, (the balāhaka clouds), it indicates great calamity to the earth and royal families”.

(f) *tāmro bhavati śastrāya*

dhūmravarṇo'gnivarṇo vā grāmeṣu nagareṣu vā // AP (53.5.1-2)

“The colour of the moon (at the time of eclipse) indicated a battle, if it is red and disaster to cities and villages, if it is smoky or fiery”. The omens described by Vyāsa are entirely consistent with the description in *Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa*.

The second segment

In the second segment, consisting of two *śloka*s, Vyāsa considers the ill omens foretelling the great harm to the Kuru dynasty and refers to the lunar eclipse, which occurred on the Full moon day at *kṛttika*, followed by a solar eclipse. The earth experiences constant tremors. He also refers to Saturn afflicting *rohiṇī* (Aldeberan) and *śvetagraha* transgressing *citrā*, which indicates the selective destruction of the *Kuru* clan.

(i) *rohiṇīm pīdayanneṣa sthito rājāñśanaiścaraḥ /*

vyāvṛttaṁ lakṣma somasya bhaviṣyati mahadbhayam // MB (VI. 2.32)

“Oh King, Saturn is harassing Aldeberan and the spot on the moon has shifted from its position. Something terrible will happen”.

(ii) *abhikṣṇam kampate bhūmirarkaṁ rāhuṣṭhathāgrasat /*

śveto grahastathā citrām samatikramya tiṣṭhati // MB (VI. 3.11)

“The Earth is experiencing tremors intermittently and Rāhu has seized the Sun.

śvetagraha has transgressed *citrā*”.

Consistency with the references in *Udyogaparvan*

These are almost identical to the omens described by Karna earlier in *Udyogaparvan* (Karna includes in addition the retrograde motion of Mars) at the time of his riding with Kṛṣṇa:

(a) *prājāpatyaṁ hi nakṣatraṁ grahas tīkṣṇo mahādyutiḥ*
śanaīścaraḥ pīdayati pīdayan prāṇinodhikam // MB (V. 141.7)

“The noxious and much lustrous *graha* Saturn, which always harasses people extremely, is harassing the *nakṣatra* presided by Prajāpati”.

(b) *kṛtvā cāṅgārako vakraṁ jyeṣṭhāyāṁ madhusūdana* /
anūrādhāṁ prārthayate maitraṁ saṁśamayanniva // MB (V. 141.8)

“Mars has performed a retrograde turn at Antares, O, Madhusūdana, and appears to be begging *anurādhā*’s friendship, as if to pacify it”.

(c) *nūnaṁ mahābhayaṁ kṛṣṇa kurūṇāṁ samupasthitam* /
viśeṣeṇa vārṣṇeya citrāṁ pīdayate grahaḥ // MB (V. 141.10)

“Indeed a great danger awaits the *Kuru* family and is indicated by the *graha* afflicting *citrā*”.

(d) *somasya lakṣma vyāvṛttaṁ rāhurarkamupeṣyati* / MB (V. 141.10)

“The moon lost its lustre and Rāhu is approaching the Sun”.

A lunar eclipse has already occurred and there is an impending solar eclipse. This clearly shows that the second segment in Vyāsa’s description to Dhṛtarāṣṭra in *Bhīṣmaparvan*, of ill omens pertaining to the danger to the Kurus is consistent with the astronomical references in *Udyogaparvan*. It may be noted that there is a reference to a *graha* afflicting *citrā* in both cases. *Graha* here refers to a comet and not to planet Mercury as is generally translated. In fact, it can be compared to the following verse from Varāhamihira¹⁷ when he discusses the effect of comets on asterisms:

citrāsu kurukṣetrādhīpasya maraṇaṁ samādiśettajñāḥ / BS (XI. 57)

“If the afflicted (by a comet) asterism be *citrā*, a wise astrologer should

predict the death of the ruler of Kurukṣetra". It may further be pointed out that this is the only segment, which includes true planetary positions in describing the omens.

The Third segment

Vyāsa describes in the third segment further indicators of the calamity to the entire army (*senayoraśivam ghoram....*). It is this segment that has caused so much difficulty to the scholars in that the planets appear to have been described as being at two or more locations at the same time. It is possible that the apparent ambiguity and confusion in the stated planetary positions arise because of the implicit interpretation that the word *graha* means a planet. The word *graha* (from the root *grah* = to grasp or to seize) refers to any heavenly object, which can move and hence can grasp or seize a star. Thus, the word refers to a planet or comet, although in much later times in Indian Astronomy, during the early years of CE, it came to be associated with only a planet. But, Vyāsa leaves no doubt to the fact that here the word *graha* refers to a comet:

“*grahau tāmṛāruṇaśikhau prajvalitāvubhau*” MB (VI. 3.24)

‘The two *grahas* blazing with coppery and red hair’.

It may be noted that the word comet itself is derived from the Greek word for hair. The word *graha* with red hair in the context here can only refer to a comet. Furthermore, as noted by Varāhamihira¹⁸, the ancient astronomers Parāśara and Garga classified comets as sons of Sun, sons of Moon, sons of Mercury, sons of Venus, sons of Mars, children of Jupiter and children of Saturn, all of which indicate mainly impending calamities. This practice of considering a comet as “*grahaputrā*” can be found in *Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa*¹⁹ also. The astronomical references in the third segment can now be examined in this light and the words

“[son of]” have been added to the translation to make it clear.

(i) *dhūmaketur mahāghoraḥ puṣyamākramya tiṣṭhati* // MB (VI. 3.12)

“Deadly *dhūmaketu* has overcome *puṣya*”.

(ii) *senayoraśivam ghoram kariṣyati mahāgrahaḥ /*

maghāsvaṅgārako vakraḥ śravaṇe ca bṛhaspatiḥ // MB (VI. 3.13)

“The *mahāgraha* appears to bring about an awful destruction in both armies. [Son of] Mars is retrograde in *maghā*, also [son of] Jupiter in *śravaṇa*”.

in Vyāsa-Dhṛtarāṣṭra-Saṁvāda in the Bhīṣmaparvan of Mahābhārata

- (iii) *bhāgyaṁ nakṣatramākramya sūryaputrena pīdyate
śukraḥ proṣṭhapade pūrve samāruhya viśāmpate
uttare tu parikramya sahitaḥ pratyudīkṣate // MB (VI. 3.14)*

“The son of Sūrya has crossed the asterism pūrvā-phālgunī, and is vexing. Oh King, [son of] śukra has entered pūrvā-proṣṭhapadā, going around uttarā-proṣṭhapadā and is rising in both”.

- (iv) *śyāmo grahaḥ prajvalitaḥ sadhūmaḥ sahapāvakaḥ /
aindraṁ tejasvi nakṣatraṁ jyeṣṭhāmākramya tiṣṭhati // MB (VI. 3.16)*

“śyāmagraha is luminous and together with dhūma and pāvaka has crossed over to jyeṣṭhā, the bright asterism ruled by Indra”.

- (v) *dhruvaḥ prajvalito ghoraṁ apasavyaṁ pravartate /
citrāsvātyantare caivā dhiṣṭhitaḥ paruṣo grahaḥ // MB (VI. 3.16)*

“The luminous dhruva has moved to the right of ghora. The paruṣa graha has established itself between citrā and svātī”.

- (vi) *vakrānuvakraṁ kṛtvā ca śravaṇe pāvakaprabhaḥ /
brahmarāśiṁ samāvṛtya lohitaṅgo vyavasthitaḥ //*

“pāvakaprabha has gone circumventing śravaṇa, and lohitaṅga has become steady after enclosing brahmarāśi”.

- (vii) *saṁvatsara sthāyinau ca grahau prajvalitāvubhau /
viśākhayoḥ samīpasthau bṛhaspati śanaiścarau // MB (VI. 3.25)*

“[Sons of] Jupiter and Saturn, which stay around for a year, are both luminous and are near the two viśākhā stars”.

- (viii) *kṛttikāsu grahastīvro nakṣatre prathame jvalan /
vapūrṇṣyapaharan bhāsā dhūmaketuriva sthitaḥ // MB (VI. 3.26)*

“The graha tīvra blazing in the first constellation kṛttika, and concealing forms with lustre resembles dhūmaketu”.

- (ix) *triṣu pūrveṣu sarveṣu nakṣatreṣu viśāmpate /
budhaḥ sampatatebhīkṣaṁ janayan sumahadbhayam // MB (VI. 3.27)*

“[Son of] Mercury is falling under all the three earlier constellations and causing a great terror”.

Vyāsa names specifically twelve comets, *śveta*, *dhūmaketu*, *mahāgraha*, *paruṣa*, *pāvaka*, *dhūma*, *lohitāṅga*, *tīvra*, *pāvakaprabha*, *śyāma*, *ghora* and *dhruvaketu*. All these names can be found in the list given by Varāhamihira ²⁰. Earlier scholars had translated some of these names as planets, for example, *śvetagraha* as white planet (to refer to Venus), *śyāmagraha* as dark planet (to refer to Mercury), and *paruṣagraha* as cruel planet (to refer to Rāhu). Vyāsa refers to son of Sun, *sūryaputra*, explicitly, but he also refers to the comets by name of the parent planets. While this is quite according to the Sanskrit grammar, it is this notation that has caused so much confusion. The scholars have interpreted these references literally as referring to planets themselves. The net result is the confusion of conflicting planetary positions. When it is realized that comets are to be considered, there is no ambiguity or confusion of any kind. Moreover, comets have been considered to be harbingers of calamity since *Atharvaveda* ²¹.

The fourth segment

In the final segment, Vyāsa describes the omens which indicate destruction of the entire population. These include a pair of eclipses: a lunar and a solar eclipse occurring in the same month and within an interval of thirteen days, and at an *aparvaṇi* moment (i.e., not at the moment exact conjunction or opposition of the sun and the moon).

- (i) *caturdaśīm pañcadaśīm bhūtapūrvam ca ṣoḍaśīm /*
imām tu nābhijānāmi amāvāsyām trayodaśīm // MB (VI. 3.28)
candrasūryāvubhau grastāvekamāse trayodaśīm /
aparvaṇi grahāvetau prajāḥ samkṣapayīṣyataḥ // MB (VI. 3.29)

“I know New Moon coinciding with fourteenth, fifteenth and also on the sixteenth day, but I have never known it coinciding with the thirteenth day. In one and the same month, both the Sun and the Moon are eclipsed on the thirteenth. These ill-timed eclipses indicate destruction of the people”. This can be compared with a description from *Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa*.

yadi tu rāhurubhau śaśibhāskarau
grasati pakṣamanantaramantataḥ /
puruṣaṣoṇitakardamavāhinī
bhavati bhūr na ca varṣati mādhabaḥ // AP (53.3.5)

Discussion and Conclusion

It is clear that the omens described by Vyāsa in four different segments refer

to different aspects : (i) an imminent war, (ii) calamity to the Kuru dynasty, (iii) destruction of the entire army, and (iv) danger to the entire population. As such they involve different astronomical happenings. The truly planetary positions are indicated in the omens pertaining to the calamity to the Kuru family and in this case the descriptions given by Karṇa in *Udyogaparvan* are identical to the descriptions given by Vyāsa in *Bhīṣmaparvan*. The alleged great confusion and ambiguity in 'planetary' positions seen by scholars pertain to the segment, which describes omens of a great danger to the entire army. This segment does not refer to planets, but to comets and has been made explicitly clear by Vyāsa, but scholars have not taken note of it. Explicit references by specific names to comets have been mistranslated as planets, leading to confusion. Compounding the confusion is Vyāsa's reference to comets as offsprings of planets, but denoting them by the names of the parent planets. But, once it is recognized that Comets are implied here there is no confusion or ambiguity and every thing falls into place. There is no necessity for introducing adhoc hypotheses such as those advanced by Daftari, Sharma or Iyengar to account for the ambiguity, because it is non-existent.

The description of omens turns out to be a coherent account. It is evident that criticism directed against the descriptions is unwarranted. It may be remarked in passing that other non-astronomical omens in these two chapters can also be found in *Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa*.

Abbreviations

AV	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
AP	<i>Atharvaveda-Parīṣiṣṭa</i>
BS	<i>Bṛhat-Saṁhitā</i>
MB	<i>Mahābhārata</i>

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INDIAN ORIGINS OF CHESS: AN OVERVIEW

By

C. PANDURANGA BHATTA

“Several countries claim the paternity of the game of chess, but careful earlier studies and modern researches have delimited the place of origin to a specific geographical area, that is Middle Asia, with Chinese and Persian supporters, but the great part of contemporary scholars, supported by etymological arguments, probably conclusive, incline to an Indian origin of the chess game” - this was the observation made by Alessandro Sanvito in his write up title ‘Some Remarks upon the Origin of Chess’ published in the abstracts and papers dedicated and presented to the organizers and participants of the first ever international symposium organized at Pondicherry University, India in 1996 on ‘Approaching the Roots of Chess’.

A study of references to implements associated with board games namely, board, pieces, dice and games-men found in ancient Indian literature and unearthed by archaeological excavations are in agreement with the statement of Alessandro and also throw fresh light on some of the unsolved problems of the early history of chess. The purpose of this paper is to re-examine these issues in order to throw more light on the Indian origins of Chess.

Archaeological Evidences

Professor S. R. Rao brought the oldest archaeological evidence of chess in India to light in 1972 in his work *Lothal and Indus Civilisation*, published in 1972. Lothal was a port town in Gujarat State of India. In the excavations there, chessmen were discovered resembling the modern chessmen. The date assigned to chessmen was about 2450 B.C. Prof. Rao in his work says : “It is interesting to note that some of the animal headed games-men and pyramidal ones with ivory handle found at Lothal closely resemble in size and shape of the modern Indian chessmen”.¹

Excavations conducted in the Indian State of Tamil Nadu have provided us with some terracotta cylindrical pieces.² These pieces were made from clay and burnt in a kiln. They are in two colours : red and black. Some of these pieces have a vertical body slightly enlarging its size near the top of the cylinder. The height of these pieces varies from 2.5 cms to 5 cms and they measure 1.4 cms to 2.8 cms in diameter. The bottom of these pieces is flat to facilitate stability for easy handling on the board while

playing the game. The flat bottom varies in diameters from 1.4 cms to 2.8 cms at the maximum. The top of these pieces was always in a domical form. The dome settles on the cylindrical part of the pieces with a wider dimension, probably for picking these pieces with fingers with ease.³

Generally these pieces were identified as games-men, used in the playing of a board game, by the archaeologists.⁴ All these pieces have a flat bottom to facilitate stability and easy movement. The top is either a dome or a flat structure. Further the neck portion were wide to facilitate easy handling while playing. Therefore these pieces could have been used as games-men.

The games-men that are found in these ancient sites could be dated to the early centuries of the Cristian era (1-3 centuries A.D.) The ancient Tamil literature namely the Sangam literature refers to three games, namely *vallu*, *vattu* and *kavaru*. Among these games, the game *vallu* was played with a board namely *valluppalakai*. The game was played on the floor of a deserted place, where the design, the pattern used for play was drawn. These descriptions point out that the game *vallu* was played with a board using games-men.⁵

Vattu was another board game described in the ancient Tamil works. The board drawn to play this game was in the shape of a pattern of squares (*kattalai*) formed by the light and dark shaped portions under a neem tree in a village.⁶ Therefore the game was played on a prepared pattern of alternating white and black squares; similar to the pattern found on a chessboard. *Tirukkural*, a renowned Tamil work belonging to the early centuries of Christian era, compares a person playing the game without a board (*arangu*) to a person without having a sound knowledge of books, climbing portals of an assembly of scholars.⁷ The descriptions of the terracotta games-men as well as the references to the games from the Tamil literature suggest that games using a board and games-men were played during this ancient period both by the kings and the common folk. It is interesting to note that the game of *vallu* and *vattu* are described as a fighting game on a board.

The Sangam society of ancient Tamils was a material society where fighting and warfare are common among the chiefs and kings. These warring qualities could have been transformed into the toys of those periods. The Tamil word *val* could mean strength and the reference to the fight could suggest the modern theme of chess where the overpowering of the opponents forces was the main purpose of the play. Therefore both the games of *vallu* and *vattu* could have resembled the game of chess. The *vattu* game could be another form of the board game where some other instrument like a dice could have been used to decide the move of the games-men or the token.⁸

Chess as the product of an Indian genius

Professor P. Thime observes 'surely, a civilization that gave birth to the grammar of Pāṇini can easily be trusted to have produced also a game that was above the grasp of children and could be played for the sheer joy in puzzling out intricate problems of an abstract nature'⁹. This observation deserves to be investigated further.

Nothing is known of Pāṇini's life except the fact that he was born in the extreme Northwest of India at Salature (c 500 BC). His *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which fixed the form of Sanskrit grammar once and for all, consists of some 4000 aphorisms of the greatest brevity. This brevity is achieved by the invention of an algebraical system of notation of a kind not found outside the grammatical schools. Pāṇini's grammar is composed in what is called *sūtra* style.

The aphoristic style (aphorisms) dates from perhaps the 8th century BC to the early Christian era. It is a terse statement well suited for meditative thought, such as the game of chess itself revolves around. The brevity, which the *sūtra* style of Pāṇini's grammar aimed at and achieved, was due to the fact that all instruction was still oral and dependent on memory.

The descriptive grammar of Sanskrit, which Pāṇini brought to its highest perfection, is one of the greatest monument of human intelligence and an indispensable model for the description of languages. Prof. Bloomfield observes : 'For no language of the past have we a record comparable to Pāṇini's record of his mother tongue, nor is it likely that any language spoken today will be so perfectly recorded. Pāṇini's grammar is one of the greatest monuments of man's intelligence'.¹⁰

Chess is a game between two individuals who use their skills and intelligence to wrest a win. It is an imaginary war between two minds. It demands extraordinary steadiness of Mind and deep concentration. The ancient Indians developed various strategies to gain great concentration. We may mention one such method, which is unique to them. *Aṣṭāvadhāna* is a Sanskrit word meaning 'eight-fold concentration'. It is a very difficult and rare literary feat in Sanskrit. The poet scholar creates extempore metrical compositions according to specifications given by eight questioners at a time. It demands exceptional qualities of multiple concentration, memory, imagination and quick thinking. *Avadhānam* is an act of a poet instantly composing poetical lines on the assigned metre as desired by the confronting poets or questioners and answering all their tricky problems in high standard poetry. This act involves the high powers of instant poetical compositions and the power of recalling

the answers in order. There are poets, who can confront 1,116 poets or questioners over 20 days solving all the problems, answering their questions in high poetical lines and recalling all the replies from memory one after one in order without any break or blink. This act is clearly a mind-belonging exercise exhibiting multiple powers of Mind, the powers derived through highest concentration of mind meditation. It will be highly beneficial to conduct more researches on such strategies of ancient India as they may hold the keys for solving the problem of origin of chess.

One more fact is started here, which strengthens our contention that the game of chess originated in a period of high intellectual activity. The tradition enshrined in the *Shahanama* of Firdausi and in *Chatrang Namak* that chess was introduced from India to Persia in the reign of Khusrau Nushirwarn (531-579 AD) is more or less accepted by the chess historians as a plausible hypothesis¹¹. According to these books a sage from India came to the court of Shah and informed him about the invention of a game, which resembled a battlefield. The sage while giving the details of the game said that they must be able to identify the foot-soldier, the elephant and the rest of the army, such as the chariot and the horse etc. According to the story the Persian king was able to decipher the game and he was excited to note such a wonderful game invented by the Indian sage. He wanted to reward the sage in suitable manner and he asked the sage what he wants to have as reward. The sage said the board has sixty-four squares, so, keep one grain in the first square, and square of the first in the second and so on up to sixty-fourth square. That is what I want as reward. The king laughed at after hearing this simple reward but when he counted the grains, he saw that all the grains grown in his kingdom could not suffice. This reveals that the sage who invented the game of chess was a mathematical genius. The exact number of grains required to be given to the sage as reward is $2^{64}-1$, which is a seventeen digit number. It is a marvellous feat on the part of the sage to calculate this number in his brain without using any device or even writing on a sheet of paper. This also supports our claim, that the game of chess is the contribution of an ancient Indian genius.

Division of ancient Indian army and the game of chess

A relationship between the four-fold division of the army and the game of chess is often pointed out. Scholars like Prof. VRR. Dikshitar¹² think that 'the principle of chess supplied ideas to the progressive development of the modes and constituents of the army'. Scholars like V. D. Pandit¹³ give credits to the myths attributing chess to Mandodarī, wife of Rāvaṇa or Draupadī, wife of Pāṇḍavas. According to these myths either of these ladies invented the game to while away time in imitation of the battle which their husbands were fighting.

The word *caturaṅga* in the sense of the 'one having four limbs or parts' is found both in the *Rgveda* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It does not refer to any game¹⁴. The term *caturaṅga* and allusions to the chariots, the elephants, the horses and the foot soldiers as constituting the army are profusely available in *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁵. But there is no single instance in which this word is used in connection with any game. The *Mahābhārata* does not refer to the game *chaturāṅga*. The game mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is similar to the dice-play (*akṣakṛīḍā*) of the Vedic period. The game of dice is compared with a battle at many places in the *Mahābhārata*. But no reference is made either to pieces (*śara*) or to board (*aṣṭāpada*). The declaration of victory takes more time in the game of *caturaṅga* and draught, as it depends on the clever movement of pieces on the board in accordance with the fall of dice. The quickness with which Śakuni was winning the game in the *Mahābhārata* story clearly points out that the game played was not *caturaṅga*. But the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explains the terms found in the *Mahābhārata* as connected with some game like draught. But any other evidence found in the same epic does not support his interpretation¹⁶.

Since there is no reference to any board game either in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the *Mahābhārata*, it can be safely concluded, that the invention of this game cannot be attributed to the wife of Rāvaṇa or the Pāṇḍavas.

But we must appreciate the fact that *caturaṅga* hints to its high antiquity. In *caturaṅga* there is no minister (*mantrin*) by the side of its kings. This refers to a period in the history of the evolution of monarchy, when the king had no one fixed minister. The institution of the minister, or at least one Prime Minister, was still unknown in the period of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. And the *caturaṅga*, which apparently reflects this primitive condition, has no *mantrin* by side of its kings. This fact may be considered as an indication of the great antiquity of the game.

Chess as a war game

The story found in *Chatrang Namak* (pre 800 AD) confirms the theory that originally chess was played as a war game. Even the later texts dealing with chess often refer to its connection with battle. Harikṛṣṇa's *Bṛhajjyotiṣārṇava* in its sixth chapter dealing with chess, refers to its connection with battle. He refers to the movements of the king and says that the king adopts straightforward and crooked methods according to the situation. He is brave, intelligent and daring; always caring for the safety of his subjects. The idea is, that just like an actual king, he behaves in this game as well¹⁷.

The figurines of the Aphrosiab collection also confirm, that chess arose as a

game reflecting warfare. Seven small figurines skillfully carved in ivory were unearthed during excavations in Aphrosiab (Samarkand of ancient times) by an expedition from the Institute of Archaeology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences led by Yuri Buryakov.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, a *kṣatriya* (person belonging to military class) was not supposed to decline, when invited either to a battle or to a game¹⁸.

The disposition of the army or order of battle is called *vyūha* in Sanskrit literature. This belongs to the province of tactics, while the plan of war is strategy. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (c. 324-300 B.C.) mentions elephant (*hastī*) chariot (*ratha*) horse (*aśva*) and infantry (*pattī*) *vyūha*. Since Kauṭilya mentions two predecessors, it is possible, that most of them are inherited. The different dispositions of the army under the *maṇḍala* classification are *sarvatomukha* (capable of turning in all directions) *sarvatobhadra* (auspicious) *aṣṭanika* (an eight-fold division), *vijaya* (giving victory), *vajra* (diamond like), *kākapadi* (crow's foot) etc. The application of these arrays is practically illustrated in the great *Mahābhārata* battle. Seeing himself numerically inferior but backed by superior strategy and experience, Yudhiṣṭhira advises Arjuna to form a pin like array as it was decisive in battles where a few had to fight against many¹⁹. We have references to the *sarvatobhadra* array of Bhīṣma's army²⁰. In times of necessity, armies used to have various formations like *sarvatobhadra*, *cakrabandha* and *murajabandha*²¹. In the *Mahābhārata* and *Arthaśāstra* these words are used only to refer to military arrays and not in the sense of chess positions. Professor VRR. Dikshitar's conclusion, that the principle of chess supplied ideas to the progressive development of the modes and constituents of the army is hard to accept. It may be argued that it is the four-fold force that supplied the motive of the game and not vice versa.

Chess and Sanskrit Poetry

However, it is of some interest to chess historians to study the development of certain features of Sanskrit poetry. '*Sarvatobhadra*' is a type of verse, which consists of sixty-four squares, in eight rows of eight squares each. There are other metrical puzzles, which are to be read in accordance with the move of particular pieces. *Prahelikā* is a type of Sanskrit poetry, which provided literary diversion from very ancient times. Yaśodhara, in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, gives two varieties of it, namely, one for diversion (*krīḍārtha*), and the other for discussion (*vādārtha*). The *bandha* or the astonishing feats of verbal jugglery seem to have originated from the art of arraying armies in different forms in the battle-field. Some of these metrical puzzles are to be read in accordance with the move of particular pieces in the game of chess.

Chariots and Elephants in Battle and in Chess.

An attempt is made here to trace the references to chariot and elephants, which play important roles, both in the battle and in the game of chess. This may help us to revise our viewpoints on the early history of chess.

The chariot was an indispensable instrument of war in the days of Vedas, and on its possession depended victory. The large number of references to chariot in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*²² would seem to indicate, that the chariot was an important instrument of war in those days.

In India from the earliest times down to the end of the epics and even several centuries after chariots played a very prominent part in warfare. Chess can be traced to the period, when chariots were still used in warfare, but also were used as means of transport (4th century B.C.). But at least by the 1st or 2nd century B.C. it was a large and more complicated vehicle than the fighting chariot of very early India. And by the 4th century A.D. it was little more than a means of transport.

In his article 'Chess 1,300 years ago'²³ which describes Aphrosiab collections I. Linder observes: An answer to a question of where the game might have originated can be obtained from the figure of the elephant, an animal not only characteristic of India, but one employed in warfare there in ancient times.

The association of man and elephant in India dates back to a period of remote antiquity. The bones of the animal unearthed at Mohenjodaro, the realistic figurines and the familiar representations of the scales of the Indus sites point to the beginnings of this friendship²⁴. A passage in the *Rgveda*²⁵ describes hunters following wild elephants, possibly to capture them. The elephant makes its debut, as royal mount in the Vedic literature and the venue is the battlefield. The epic tradition of the fighting elephant must have owed something to earlier antiquity. The absence of direct and more explicit references to the use of elephants in war in the later Vedic literature is doubtless due to the character of that literature; there was not so much room in the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Upaniṣads* for discussing the arms of the army or the dispositions of the battle. The epics²⁶ assign the elephants their proper place in the army organizations. Elephants are placed on the joints and extremities of the wings²⁷. They are stationed, so as to give stability to the army, to support and cover its flanks. Elephants rush against elephants²⁸ but they spare none else-horse, chariot or foot soldier. The elephant slaughters and destroys; but is not able to outdo the knight in his chariot²⁹.

In fifth century B.C. elephants were regarded as the chief arm of the fighting

forces. Alexander encountered them everywhere in the succeeding century, during his brief sojourn in India.

Somewhat allied to this, is the fight between equals, well matched is the theme of the fighting elephants, a great favourite in sculpture from India. It is always a question of showing might equally matched. This equally matched fight was a great favourite and some of the masterpieces of painting during the Moghul period represent similar elephant fights, camel fights, lion fights and so forth. These are well-matched conflicts on a high and noble sentiment born of birth and training of a superior order, that called in for such a phase of elevated human character. And it is this, that provides us the noble ideals of righteous warfare (*dharmayuddha*) in which the charioteer fights with only one in a chariot, a cavalier with only another horseman, a warrior on an elephant only with another similarly placed, and a foot soldier with his equal. The famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa (1st century B.C.) beautifully describes this in his court-epic *Raghuvamśa* as: "The foot-soldier attacked a foot-soldier, the chariot-soldier one in a chariot, the cavalryman one mounted on horse, the soldier on elephant; equally matched in the opponents there was the battle"³⁰.

In inscriptions, which record the glory of the kings and emperors, who were mainly engaged in these conflicts, not for territory so much as for glory, is a spirit of *dharmavijaya*, the conqueror not wresting but returning sometimes with additions kingdoms won from defeated sovereigns, there is a similar description of righteous warfare and a passage from the Kuram grant of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman (A.D. 670-700) is one of the most graphic descriptions of battle-scene in epigraphical literature and echoes the description of Kālidāsa³¹.

A sculptural representation of the ideals of righteous warfare in India so meticulously followed and particularly insisted on by the great and chivalrous warrior class of India is found in a coping piece from the Amarāvati rail showing the chariots fighting with the charioteer, the cavalier with a horseman, the foot-soldier with another of his rank and one on an elephant with a similar warrior, and this orderliness in disorder on the battle-field makes the scene all the more instructive and appealing³².

In conclusion, it may be observed that the origin of chess is a multidisciplinary subject. Only a proper research conducted on issues such as archaeological findings, constitution of ancient Indian army, development of great power of concentration along with high mathematical skills and extraordinary features of Sanskrit poetry such as figurative poetry may throw significant clues toward unsolved problems connected with the early history of chess. It is apt to quote the observation

made by Isaak Linder, which supports our contention made above. He says : "In my view only a multi-disciplinary study of the problem making use of historical, ethnographical, literary and folklore sources with a decisive role of archaeological discoveries would be able to lift the veil on the age-old secret of the origin of chess³³".

Notes and References

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15) Ibid.

16) C. Panduranga Bhatta, *Dice-Play in Sanskrit Literature*, Amar Prakashan, New Delhi, 1984.

17) *Brhajjyotiṣārṇava*, VI.20.46.

18) *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, 59,16 and 18.

19) Ibid. *Bhīṣmaparvan*, 20.18.

20) Ibid. 10.3.

21) V. V. R. Dikshitar, op. cit. P. 270.

22) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II.37; X.5, V.21; XXIV.3; VII.19, XXXIV.1 etc.

23) I. Linder, 'Chess 1,300 years ago', 1978.

24) Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, II, p. 633.

25) *Ṛgveda*, X.40.4.

26) *Mahābhārata*, I.I.138; I.63.3; I.105.9; 3.17; I.2.5, 3.268.6.

27) Ibid. 6.46.53.

28) Ibid. 6.43.79.

29) Ibid. 6.51.25.

30) C. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art-Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 81.

31) Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, VII.37.

32) C. Sivaramamurti, op. cit.

33) Isaak Linder, 'My Personal Opinion on the Origin of Chess', in *Approaching the Roots of Chess*, Abstract and Papers dedicated and presented to the Organizers and Participants of the Symposium at Pondicherry University, 1996, p. 20.



A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE RARE QUOTES FROM CAṆDEŚVARA ṬHAKKURA'S *RĀJANĪTIRATNĀKARA*

By

SWAGATA P. PANDIT

Caṇdeśvara Ṭhakkura (or Ṭhākura) is the author of *Rājanītiratnākara* (RR)¹, a 14th century Sanskrit digest on polity and statecraft. He was one of the most outstanding and dominating figures among the medieval Maithila *nibandhakāras*, digest-writers on *dharmaśāstra*. Caṇdeśvara started his political and literary career under the last king of the Karnāṭa dynasty of Mithilā, Harisimhadeva, who ruled from approximately C.E. 1304 till C.E. 1324.² Caṇdeśvara was the chief minister of king Harisimhadeva. After Harisimhadeva, the Delhi Emperor set up a new dynasty of Kāmeśvara. The first king of this new dynasty was Bhaveśa, who seems to have ruled after C.E. 1370. Caṇdeśvara informs us at the beginning of the text of RR that he composed it at the command of king Bhaveśa.³

Besides RR, Caṇdeśvara is the author of the *Smṛtiratnākara*, also called *Saptaratnākara*, because it is comprised of seven quasi-independent treatises on the subjects of *Kṛtya*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *śuddhi*, *pūjā*, *vivāha*, and *grhastha*.⁴ His other works include: *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*, *Dānavākyaṅgāvali*, *Śivavākyaṅgāvali*, *Śaivamānasollāsa*, *Kālanirṇaya*, *Trikāṇḍikāsūtrāvyākhyā*, *Ādhividhi*, *Dāsavimokṣavidhi* and *Svāmipālavivādataraṅga*.⁵

The text of RR gives us an overview of all traditional topics on royal polity, such as seven constituents of the state and supplementary topics like handing a kingdom over to the crown prince, and how to hold a coronation ceremony. Thus, it is a manual for a head of state instructing him on how to run a government efficiently. Works like RR have gathered information on these topics from earlier authoritative works like Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kāmandaka, Nārada, the Purāṇas, and even from epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. A student of ancient Indian politics can get an overview of all important topics in one place in RR, rather than looking for them in scattered works.

However, there are some quotations and expressions in the RR, which can not be traced to any other exact source known. Such a list of quotations is given below. In this list, all the quotes attributed to that particular source are collected

together for a better understanding of what the author might have wanted to reveal. Sometimes, Caṇḍeśvara mentions only the name of that source either at the beginning or at the end of the quote, which I have put in a boldface for a quick recognition. At places, he does not mention the source at all, making it even more difficult to identify it. In that particular instance, at the end of this list, I keep “name of the source” box empty.

Name of the Source	Exact reference found in RR	Quotation in the Rājanītiratnākara
Uśanas	9.26	उशना वेद यच्छास्त्रं तत्रैतद्विदितं विभो ।
Kātyāyana	15.7 comm.	कात्यायनः निबन्धो यः क्रमागतः ।
Kośa	15.4 comm.	योगक्षेमं स्मृतं राज्यमिति कोशात् ।
Guravaḥ	1.2 comm.	केवलशौर्याद्यात्तराज्यस्य राजत्वव्यवहारादिति गुरवः ।
	9.3 comm.	दण्डनीत्यादय इति गुरवः ।
Gopāla	16.13 comm.	गोपालमते त्वभिषेकपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तद्व्यवहारादिति ।
	15.8 comm.	राजधने दीनानाथादिसकल- प्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति गोपाल-लक्ष्मीधर-श्रीकरादयः ।
Darśana	3.8 comm.	राज्यकामो विजयकामो धनकामः पुष्ट्यादिकामो यजेत इत्यादिदर्शनात्
Nītikalpataru	1.36 comm.	वृद्धं व्यावहारिकधनादिति नीतिकल्पतरुः ।
Pallava	8.7 comm.	यतज्ञैरिष्टैः इति पल्लवः ।
	9.30 comm.	भेर्यादिभिरपि इति पल्लवः ।
	11.39 comm.	राजानं विसृज्य न कुर्मात् इति पल्लवः ।
	11.41 comm.	नर्मसु सचिवै नर्मसचिवैः परिहासादिचतुरैः, कटुनादिभिरिति पल्लवः ।
	16.2 comm.	सन्निहितसम्बन्धिमात्रम् इति पल्लवः ।
	16.13 comm.	विस्तारोऽस्य पल्लवे । अलंकृत्य मुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं राज्यमर्पयेत् ।
Pallavakāra	4.4 comm.	विचारणपर्यन्तमेव प्राड्विवाकधर्म इति पल्लवकारः ।

Bahavaḥ	1.12 comm.	प्रजापालने प्रवृत्तः इति बहवः ।
	1.4 comm.	अभिषेककाले प्रथमपरीक्षार्थमिति बहवः ।
Madguruḥ	16.12 comm.	अस्य प्रयोगो मदुरूपद्वतौ ।
Maya, Maitra	12.30 comm.	नीतिशास्त्रे मयमैत्रविशालाक्षादि मनु
Viśālākṣa		बृहस्पतिशुक्रादिमतभेदेन ---
Rājanītikāmadhenu	1.2 comm.	राजनीतिकामधेनौ राज्याभिषिक्तो
		राजा प्रजापालनादेस्तदीयत्वात् तत्प्राक्
		ज्ञानसम्भवाच्चेति ।
	1.16 comm.	राजनीतिकामधेनु । अधीश्वरो
		द्विविधः शौर्यादकरः सम्राडनुग्रहादकरः ।
	14.13 comm.	स्वातन्त्र्यमप्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा
		महीपतिः इति कामधेनौ स्पष्टम् ।
Lakṣmīdhara	4.4 comm.	न्यायाङ्गानि बहिजलादीनि तान्यग्रतः
		कृत्वेति स्वरसादृश्यादिरपि इति
		लक्ष्मीधरः ।
	9.30 comm.	बलमत्रसैन्यादिपरं 'बलमत्रषड्-
		विधमिमादेरपि हर्षेण जयसंपत्तेः' इति
		लक्ष्मीधरः ।
	15 comm. in the beginning	'अत्र विवादपरिहारार्थम्' इति
		लक्ष्मीधरः ।
	16.2 comm.	'तद्वश्यमे वा' इति लक्ष्मीधरः ।
Śrīkara	9.25 comm.	'कुरुक्षेत्राद्युपलक्षणमन्यानपि' इति
		श्रीकरः ।
	15.8 comm.	राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं
		बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति
		गोपाल-लक्ष्मीधर-श्रीकरादयः ।
Saṃpradāya	15 comm. in the beginning	बहुषु ज्येष्ठायेति सम्प्रदायः ।
	16.13 comm.	मनावभिषेकं विनापि राज्यदानविधानात् ।
		तथा सम्प्रदायाच्च ।
Sāgara	4.8 comm.	निर्णयविषयं शल्यमधर्मरूपम् इति
		सागरः ।
	8.7 comm.	'आप्तैरतीष्टसम्बन्धिभिः-
		तज्ञैस्तत्कर्मज्ञैश्च' इति सागरः ।

Smṛti	1.36 comm.	‘धर्मेण दण्डविजयकरादिना वृद्धं भोगाद्युर्वीरितं धनन्दानाय भुक्तये’ इति स्मृतेः ।
Hārīta	14.3 comm.	विधाय वृत्तिं बहूनां राज्यं ज्येष्ठाय दापयेत् इत्यादि राजनीतौ हारितनारदवचनेभ्यः ।
	16.2 comm.	किं च ‘आत्मा वै जायते पुत्र’ इति तत्स्वरूपात् वस्तुतस्तु ‘राजवृत्तमन्यद्’ इति युक्तिरेव बलवतीति ।

No such quotations are found in RR chapters two, five, six, seven, ten, twelve and thirteen.

Now we will deal with these quotes based on their sources. The very first quote उशना वेद यच्छास्त्रं तत्रैतद्विदितं विभो । is part of *Mahābhārata* (MBh) verse 15.12.15, in which Uśanas’s name is mentioned to support Caṇḍeśvara’s view regarding the arrangement of battle arrays. The name of Uśanas’s work or treatise is not given here. Kāvya Uśanas is an ancient sage in the *Rgveda*; vide *Rgveda* 1.83.5 and in *Rgveda* 9.87, Uśanas is called a *ṛṣi* and *vipra*. “Kauṭilya quotes the *Auśanasāḥ* seven times, almost certainly referring to a work that contained directions on the administration of justice also. In MBh, Śāntiparvan (56.29-30 and 57.3), Sabhāparvan (55.14) Anuśāsanaparvan (139.8-9) refer to Uśanasa’s views.”⁶

In the next quotation, कात्यायनः निबन्धो यः क्रमागतः। Kātyāyana’s definition of the term *nibandha* is given. Accordingly, *nibandha* means “whatever one gets from his forefathers traditionally”. In this context, Kātyāyana implies that ‘kingdom’ is *nibandha* for a king as he gets it from his forefathers’ traditionally. This one line is not found in the *Kātyāyanasmṛti*.

The next quote is योगक्षेमं स्मृतं राज्यमिति कोशात् । *Kośa* means a dictionary or a lexicon. This quote is part of a commentary on verse RR 15.4, in which there is a discussion of the meaning of the word *yogakṣema*. The dictionary says *yogakṣema* means a ‘kingdom’. However, the name of the dictionary which says so is not specified.

The following two quotations come under the same source as Guravaḥ, meaning the teachers. The first one is केवलशौर्याच्चासराज्यस्य राजत्वव्यवहारादिति गुरुवः । There is a discussion about who is worthy of calling a king. The teachers’ view stresses that king should be the master and protector of his subjects. He should establish his kingship by his

valor and other qualities. Caṇḍeśvara thus uses teachers' opinion to demonstrate his views. However, these teachers' may not indicate his own teacher as in a commentary on 16.12, he explicitly says Madguruḥ, "my teacher". Thus, teachers may be a group of teachers thinking similarly on this topic of kingship.

The second quotation attributed to Guravaḥ is दण्डनीत्यादय इति गुरुवः । appears in the commentary after RR verse 9.2. There different interpretations of the word *bala* from verse 2 are presented. According to the teachers, "*bala* means the science of polity".

The next two long quotations are by Gopāla. Some scholars including Caṇḍeśvara ascribe the *Kāmadhenu* to Gopāla, e.g., the *Vyavahāraratnākara*.⁷ Gopāla is mentioned as a minister of king Bimbisāra.⁸ Gopāla literally means Kṛṣṇa, who protects cows. In RR, the first one is गोपालमते त्वभिषेकपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तद्व्यवहारादिति । It says that in the opinion of Gopāla, every action from in commentary on RR 15.8 is राजधाने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति गोपाल-लक्ष्मीधर-श्रीकरादयः । It reagrds the view of Gopāla along with Lakṣmīdhara and Śrīkara that all beings, poor, helpless and others have a share in king's wealth.

The quote राज्यकामो विजयकामो धनकामः पुत्र्यादिकामो यजेत इत्यादिदर्शनात् । is from *Darśana*. *Darśana* means "view, doctrine, philosophical system."⁹ It is said in the *darśana* that one who desires a kingdom, victory, wealth, a son, etc. should perform sacrifices. Thus, the word *darśana* is very vague and does not indicate any particular source or work.

The next quote वृद्धं व्यावहारिकघनादिति नीतिकल्पतरुः । is attributed to *Nītikalpataru*. It is not clear whether *Nītikalpataru* is the same as *Kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara. This quote appears in the commentary on RR 1.36 and explains the word *vṛddha* as legitimately augmented wealth.

The next few quotes are by Pallavakāra, the author of the work named *Pallava*. Kane, while listing *Pallava* in the list of works on Dharmaśāstra, says that it is a work on politics earlier than 1300 A.D.¹⁰ Pallava's views are mentioned in RR while dealing with various topics, such as duties of the chief judge (RR 4.4 comm.), behaviour of the dependents while dealing with the royal ladies and also with the jesters, etc. (RR 11.39 and 41 comm.) In RR 16.2 commentary, according to Pallava, *sannikṛṣṭānvaya* means any close relative of king and in 16.13, to support the work of Caṇḍeśvara's teacher, it is said that the same view viz. "brahmins should be invited means they should also be fed", is elaborated in the Pallava's work. Thus, Pallava or Pallavakāra is the most quoted unknown source in RR.

The next source is *Bahavaḥ*, which in general seems to be the view accepted by many people or scholars; e.g., in commentary on RR 1.42, many scholars agree that a king is one who strives to protect his subjects and on RR 1.4, many scholars yield to the fact, that the characteristics for a king are meant for the initial examination of the king at the time of the royal coronation.

Caṇḍeśvara remarks, that the next quote अस्य प्रयोगो मदगुरुपद्धतौ । is indeed describing his teacher's views. In a commentary on RR 16.12, he quotes that "how to do all this is found in my teacher's 'manual', *paddhati*". Thus, "brahmins should be invited means they should also be fed" and that is explained in the manual by Caṇḍeśvara's teacher. Here Caṇḍeśvara mentions that his teacher wrote some kind of a manual. However, Caṇḍeśvara never explicitly announces the name of his teacher. Caṇḍeśvara's father Vīreśvara is well-known to Sanskrit scholars as the author of the *Chāndogapaddhati* also known as *Sāmavedīya Daśakarmapaddhati*. The *paddhati* mentioned here in RR 16 and the *Sāmavedīya Daśakarmapaddhati* might be the same, and in that case we can conjecture that Caṇḍeśvara's teacher might have been his father Vīreśvara.

The next quote नीतिशास्त्रे मयमैत्रविशालाक्षादि-मनु-बृहस्पतिशुक्रादिमतभेदेन refers to different scholars of the science of polity. Accordingly, in the science on polity,¹¹ there is a disagreement among teachers such as Maya, Maitra, Viśālākṣa, etc. and Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, etc., regarding the number of the kings in the circle. Maya is a name of asura who was an architect of the demons and he was also versed in magic, astronomy and military science.¹² However, any of his work is not found in the printed form. One of the meanings of Maitra is a preceptor. It is the name of an imaginary person in giving examples in grammar and philosophy in the *Nītisāra*.¹³ Viśālākṣa is a name of Śiva, also a name of an author of a *śāstra*, the science.¹⁴ Manu, Bṛhaspati and Śukra are well-known in the science of polity and their works are *Manusmṛti*, *Bṛhaspatismṛti* and *Śukranīti* respectively, though the exact references from their works are not given here.

The next three quotes are attributed to the *Rājanītikāmadhenu*, probably a work by Gopāla, as mentioned earlier. The first quote in commentary after RR 1.2 says, that essence of kingship lies in protecting subjects and performing other royal duties and the next one in RR 1.16 gives two types of *adhīśvara* kings from *Rājanītikāmadhenu*. In RR 14.13, explanations of the two words, viz. *svātantrya* (independence) and *mahīpati* (king) are quoted from *Rājanītikāmadhenu*.

Lakṣmīdhara's views are quoted at four places in RR. "His *Kṛtyakalpataru* or *Kalpataru* exercised great influence over the Dharmaśāstra writers from Mithilā,

Bengal and Northern India in general.”¹⁵ In RR 4.4 commentary, he is quoted while explaining the duties of the chief judge and in RR 9.30, his views regarding the definition of *bala* or army are given. In the long commentary at the beginning of RR chapter 15, Lakṣmīdhara holds the view that “The royal chaplain and the ministers should give the kingdom to the eldest son of the deceased king to avoid any kind of controversy about its succession”. In RR 16.2, he explains the word *sannikṛṣṭānvaya*. According to him, it means any one from the royal family.

The source of next two quotes is Śrīkara. According to his view in the first citation (RR 9.25 comm.) the words Kurukṣetra and others like Matsya, Pāñcāla, and Śūrasena are synecdochical. These words also include soldiers from other regions along with soldiers from those particular regions. Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā who flourished in the 9th century. The name of any of his works is not found, though Śrīkara's explanations of Yajñavalkya are frequently cited by the *Mītākṣarā* and the *Dāyabhāga*.¹⁶ His second quote in commentary on RR 15.8 is discussed earlier as the view maintained in it was also expressed by Gopāla and Lakṣmīdhara.

Sampradāya view is referred to in the long commentary at the beginning of RR 15 which is बहुषु ज्येष्ठयेति सम्प्रदायः । Accordingly, a kingdom should be given to the eldest among many princes and thus, this view agrees with the views of Lakṣmīdhara and Pallavakāra in this matter. *Sampradāya* means any peculiar or sectarian system and traditional view. It is like expressing a view of a group. It is similar to the expression *bahuṣu* discussed earlier. Second time, *Sampradāya* view is mentioned in RR 16.13 commentary which is identical with Manu's view. They both think that the kingdom can be handed over to the heir even without the coronation ceremony.

Sāgara says, “a thorn in the settlement of a dispute means non-justice itself”. Any conclusive information about the author Sāgara or his work having same name is not found. Kane mentions several works are called *Sāgara*, viz. *Adbhutasāgara*, *Dānasāgara*, *Smṛtisāgara*. Also, there is a work called *Sāgarasamhitā* by Hemādri II.¹⁷ In RR 8.8 commentary, another quote attributed to Sāgara is found which is in agreement with the Pallava view. It says, “*āpta* means a very close relative, and *tajjñā* means those, who know that particular business well”.

The next *Smṛti* source is found in a commentary on RR 1.36. This quote explains how a king should deal with wealth. According to it, a king should righteously augment his wealth by means of punishment, victory, taxes, etc. What remains after his enjoyment, should be given in charity and for others' enjoyment. The *Smṛti* is a whole body of sacred text which is transmitted by oral tradition and

thus remembered. Its corpus is vast and includes numerous texts of Manu, Nārada, Kātyāyana, etc.

The next source mentioned in this list is Hārita.^{17a} *Hārītasṁṛti* is well-known, but three quotes attributed to him in RR are not found in the printed version of *Hārītasṁṛti*. The first quote in RR 14 is jointly attributed to Nārada and Hārita. They advice the king, that he should first make arrangements for the livelihood of the rest of his sons, and then only he should give away the kingdom to his eldest son.

The last expression is not attributed to any known source at all. It occurs in RR 16. According to it, “one’s soul is reborn as one’s son”. This quote is in the middle of the discussion which considers the possibilities when the retiring king’s son is dead and whether or not, the grandson should be considered for coronation.

The sole purpose of this article is to accelerate the thinking process regarding these rare quotations, so that they will be identified and traced down to some known source, which is available in the printed form. Whenever Caṇḍeśvara cites these quotations, he does so with some definite intention; either to support his own view in that particular debate or to present different opinions in the matter under discussion. Since Caṇḍeśvara is a digest-writer, he composed long Sanskrit commentaries explaining verses from other works and paragraphing difficult words, but it is unlikely that he composed these untraceable verses himself. *The Dharmakośa* does take note of such verses, and adds in the footnote, that these verses are found only in Caṇḍeśvara’s RR. Thus, Caṇḍeśvara’s RR gives us an opportunity to learn new verses which are still unidentified.

Notes :

1) “The *Rājanītiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura”. Ed. K. P. Jayaswal. 2nd ed, 1993. Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press.

2) RR ed. K. P. Jayaswal : intro pp. 13, 14.

3) राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वर कृती ॥ RR verse 2 in the beginning.

4) श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारशुद्धिपूजाविवादेषु तथा गृहस्थे । रत्नाकरा धर्मभुवो निबन्धाः कृतास्तुलापुरुषदेन सप्त ॥ *Vivādaratnākara*, end verse 3.

5) “The history of Smṛti in Bengal.” Manmohan Chakravarti. *Journal of the*

Asiatic Society of Bengal (new series) : 11: p. 394-400. *The Classical Law of India*. Robert Lingat. Tr. From the French with additions by J. Duncan M. Derrett. 1973. Berkely : University of California Press. p. 116.

6) *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Kane, Pandurang Vaman. 5 Vols. 2nd Ed. rev. and enl. Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6. Pune : BORI. 1990. Vol. 1, part 1, pp. 264-272.

7) *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Mitra, Rajendralala. 1870-1911. Calcutta: J. W. Thomas. Vol. 6, p. 66.

8) Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1964. Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass. p. 365.

9) Monier-Williams. p. 471. Six *darśanas* are mentioned, which are : Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Uttara Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, and Yoga.

10) *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol 1, part 2, p. 1061.

11) Here, this reference of science of polity is to the Kāmandaka. Kāmandaka mentions the opinion of, and also the disagreement among the earlier teachers of science of polity in the *Nītisāra* verses from 8.20-38.

12) Monier-Williams. p. 789.

13) Monier-Williams. p. 834.

14) Monier-Williams. p. 990.

15) *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol 1, part 2, p. 663.

16) *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol 1, part 1, pp. 571-73.

17) *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Vol 1, part 2, p. 1144.



KIRĀTĀRJUNIYA IX (-A)* WITH MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

By

J. A. F. ROODBERGEN

Introductory Note

The translation and explanation of Mallinātha's commentary on *Kir.* VII was published with a translation of the stanzas belonging to this Canto in *ABORI*, Vol. LXXXI, for 2000, pp. 69-121. That of Mallinātha's commentary on *Kir.* VIII, stanzas 1-28, was published with a translation of the stanzas concerned in *ABORI*, Vol. LXXXII, for 2001, pp. 73-111. The remainder of the commentary and of the stanzas 29-57 belonging to *Kir.* VIII has been published in *ABORI*, Vol. LXXXIII, for 2002, pp. 49-89. I refer to the Introductory Notes on the two articles published for more details. As stated in these Introductory Notes, L. Renou's article "Sur la structure du *kāvya*" in *Journal Asiatique*, Tome CCXLVIII, Fasc. I, Paris 1959, pp. 1-113, offers useful insights in the composition of the stanzas, and in the choice of words and expressions by the author Bhāravi.

In Canto VIII the poet has described the pleasure walk of the apsarases in the company of Gandharvas in the mountain forests bordering the river Gaṅgā, where they pick flowers (8.1-26). The beauty of the forests is shown in the mountain streams, the waterdrops spattering about, the creepers and the sandalwood trees (8.22-26). The stanzas 27-30 form the transition to the second main topic of the Canto, the play of the apsarases in the water of the river (8.31-57). Throughout the first and second sections, the beauty of the apsarases is described with the help of stereotypes. These stereotypes are found, both in early plastic art and in literature. I offer a short survey.

Apsarases are physically ideal women, whose charms are put to use by the gods to break the accumulated heat power of ascetics. But what does physically ideal mean in an early society dominated by *kṣatriyas* and *brāhmaṇs*? In sculpture (the *śālābhañjikā* figures on the *torṇas* of Sāñci) and in painting (the Ajanta caves) the apsarases appear in seductive poses, swelling bosom, slender waist, round hips, tapering limbs. Literary prototypes Bhāravi has undoubtedly found in the epic and in Kālidāsa. I mention the description of Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* (Crit. Ed. 2.58.33-37), where Yudhiṣṭhira is challenged by Śakuni to stake Draupadī and so to win back all he lost in the dicing game. The text says, "naiva hrasvā na mahatī na rohiṇī / sarāgaraktanetrā (...) ābhātī padmavad vaktraṁ sasvedam (...) vedīmadhyā

dīrghakeśī tāmṛākṣī nātiromaśā” ‘not short, not tall, not increasing (in length)/ her eyes red with passion (...), her face with drops of perspiration shines like a lotus (...), her waist (in form) like an altar, her hair long, her eyes the colour of copper, not too much hair on the body’. She is likened to an autumn lotus in three aspects, eyes, beauty and fragrance. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed., T.R.Krishnācārya, 1910-1912), 3.46.15-20, Rāvaṇa rhapsodizes about Sītā: ‘Are you Lakṣmī, or an apsaras or full-bodied Rati ? Teeth equal, pointed, smooth, white, eyes wide and clear, red in the corner, black pupils, large and thick underbelly, thighs like an elephant’s trunk, breasts full, round, close together, neatly moving, having thick and raised nipples, lovely breasts, smooth, like the fruit of a palm tree, beautiful.’ The wellknown stanza from the *Meghadūta* (A. Scharpé, *Kālidāsa-Lexicon*, Vol. I, Part III, Brugge 1959, stanza 79), describing the wife of the *yakṣa*, says ‘*tanvī śyāmā śikharidaśanā pakvabimbādharoṣṭhī / madhye kṣāmā cakitahariṇī prekṣaṇā nimnanābhiḥ / śroṇībhārād alasagamanā stokanamrā stanābhyām (...)*’ ‘slender, youthful, with pointed teeth, underlip like a ripe bimba fruit, lean in the middle, eyes like those of a frightened deer, with a deep navel, having a slow gait due to the weight of her buttocks, a little bent because of her (heavy) breasts (...).’ King Agnimitra (*Mālavikāgnimitra*) A. Scharpe, *Kālidāsa-Lexicon* Vol. I, Part II, Brugge 1956, stanza 2.3), describing Mālavikā, says, ‘*dīrghākṣam śaradīndukānti vadanam bāhū natāv amsayoh / samkṣiptam nibidonnatastanam uraḥ pārśve pramṛṣṭe iva / madhyaḥ pāṇimito nitambi jaghanam pādāv arālāṅgulī / chando nartayitur yathaiva manasi śliṣṭam tathāsyā vapuḥ //*’ ‘Her face has large eyes (and) bears the beauty of autumn moon, her arms are rounded at the shoulder, her compact bosom has firm and raised breasts, the two sides have been polished, so to speak, her waist can be measured with a hand, the lower part of her body has swelling buttocks, her feet have curved toes. Just like a wish in the mind of a dancing teacher her body has been joined together’. Later on (ibid. 3.7), the same king sums up his beloved Mālavikā as *vīpulaṁ nitambabimbe madhye kṣāmaṁ samunnataṁ kucayoḥ / atyāyataṁ nayanayor mama jīvitam etad āyāti* ‘broad in the orb-like buttocks, slender in the middle, raised in the breasts, stretched very long in the eyes, that life of mine comes’ Compare further A. Guruge, *The Society of Rāmāyaṇa*. Abhinav Publications: Delhi 1991, p. 185-186. Physical features of women are used for prognostication in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Chapter 79, where the general idea is stated, that vice follows deformity and virtue follows beauty.

Stanza 9.1

Then the sun, after having observed the women of the gods as having garments of different colours and ornaments, which they had put on (and therefore) in the mood to have sex, has gone down near the ocean in order to set, to render them a service, so to speak.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *atha*

Atha (means) *jalakrīḍānantaram* 'immediately after the amusement in the water.' *Bhānumān* (means) *aṁśumān* 'the sun' (sg. nom.)

Āttacitraparidhānavidhūṣāḥ (means) *svikṛtavidhavastrābharaṇāḥ* 'having bright-coloured clothes and ornaments which had been put on' (pl. acc. fem.). That is to say, having prepared themselves for having sex. That is why (the poet) says:¹

Rantumanasaḥ. (The suffix *tumUN* is added by) P.3.3.158.² The *m* has been deleted by (the statement) *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye tum kāmamanasor api* 'let there be deletion (of the m) of *avaśyamaḥ* when (a word ending in a *kṛtya* suffix or *manas* follows (as the *uttarapada*).'³

Suranārīḥ vīkṣya

(In the sense of) *tāsām priyārtham* 'for the sake of rendering those (women) a service' (we derive *tatpriyārtham*).

Iva. That is to say, to render a service in the form of offering (them) an opportunity (for making love). This is *phalotprekṣā*.⁴

Astam (means) *adarśanam* 'disappearance'. This is an *avyaya* 'indeclinable' ending in *m*.⁵

Yātum (means) *prāptum* 'in order to reach.'

Upapayodhi (means) *payodhisamīpe* 'in the neighbourhood of the ocean.'

Lalambe (means) *sasramse* 'has gone down.'

In this Canto the metre is *svāgatā*, according to the definition *svāgateti raṇabhād guruyugman* 'a pair of heavy syllables after *ra*, *na* and *bha*.'⁶

(Note 1)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 5 x r, 3 x n ; cd, 3 x m.

Arthālamkāra : *Phalotprekṣā* in *priyārtham eva*. The poet imagines, that the sunset is due to the sun having seen how the apsarases have prepared themselves for a night of making love.

Stanza 9.2

When the sun, rays spreading like a gem in the middle (of a necklace), was setting in one part (of the sky), the sky wore a daytime beauty, which was unsteady because midday had passed, like a necklace moving to and fro.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *madhya*

Madhyamopalambhe (means) *nāyakamaṇisadrśe* 'similar to the chief gem (of a necklace)' (sg. loc. masc.). [Quote from *Amara*] [Quote from *Vaijayantī*]⁷

Lasadamśau (means) *prasaradramśau* 'having spreading rays' (sg. loc. masc).

Bhānau

Ekataḥ (means) *ekasmin bhāge* 'in one part'.⁸

Cyutim (means) *srastatām* 'the state of one who has gone down' (sg. acc.).

Upeyuṣi (means) *prāpte* (sc.) *sati* 'after having reached' (loc. abs.).⁹

Dyauḥ.

Parivṛtti (means) *madhyāhnātīkrama* 'the passing of midday'. *Vilola* (means) *gatvari* 'moving to and fro'. (In the sense of) *parivṛtṭyā vilolām* 'unsteady, because midday had passed' (sg. acc. fem.) (we derive *parivṛttivilolām*). In the other case,¹⁰ (it means) time and again, changing place due to the sideways turning of the body.¹¹

Vāsaralakṣmīm.

Hārayaṣṭim (means) *muktāvalīm* 'strand of pearls' (sg. acc.).

Iva.

Uvāha (means) *vahati sma* 'has worn'.

Note (2)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x *m*; c, 3 x *v*; cd, 3 x *l*, 4 x *r*.

Arthālamkāra : *Upamā*, in *hārayaṣṭim iva*. This is an elaborate simile, built up of elements, which themselves are similes. The basic simile is, that in, which the sky and the sun are compared to a body wearing a pearl necklace with a gemstone, may be a ruby, set in the middle. At midday the sun is in the middle of the sky illuminating both parts, east and west, equally. The same goes, for the gemstone in the necklace, when it is in a straight position. It decorates both parts, right side and left side of the body equally. But now the time of midday is gone, and light becomes distributed unequally. The same goes for the gemstone in the necklace, when the equilibrium of the straight position is lost. The unsteady, changing distribution of light in the sky at sunset is, then compared to the unsteady sideways swinging movement of the gemstone in the necklace.

Stanza 9.3

The sun, extremely thirsty, having sipped to excess the nectar produced by the lotuses, with hands in the form of rays, having become drunk, so to speak, (and) going to fall on the ground, has worn a red body.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *aṁśupāṇibhiḥ*

Paṅgaḥ (means) *sūryaḥ* 'the sun' (sg. nom.).

Atīva (means) *nirbharam* 'extremely.'

(In the sense of) *pātum icchuḥ* 'desirous to drink' (sg. nom. masc.) (we derive) *pipāsuḥ*. (That is) being thirsty. (The suffix) *u* (has been added) after (the verbal base quoted as) *pibati* 'to drink' ending in (the desiderative suffix) *saN*.¹²

(In the sense of) *aṁśava eva pāṇayas taiḥ* 'the hands are rays only', (pl. instr.), (we derive) *aṁśupāṇibhiḥ*.¹³

(In the sense of) *padmeṣu jātam* 'originating in lotuses' (sg. acc. masc.) (we derive) *padmajam*.¹⁴

Madhu (means) *madhv eva* 'nothing but liquor.' The word *madhu* is (an instance of) a *śliṣṭarūpaka* 'a *rūpaka* based on *śleṣa*.'¹⁵ That is to say, liquor prepared from nectar. [Quote from *Amara*].

Bhṛśam (means) *atyantam* 'excessively'.

Rasayitvā (means) *āsvādya* 'after having sipped.'

Kṣibatām (means) *mattatvam* 'drunkenness' (sg. acc.)

Gata iva.¹⁶ This is *utprekṣā*.¹⁷ [Quote from *Amara*]

Kṣitim.

Eṣyan (means) *gamiṣyan* 'on the point of going' (sg. nom. masc.).

Lohitam (means) *raktam* 'red' (sg. acc. ntr.).

Vapuḥ.

Uvāha. (The poet) means to say, like a drunk, due to his inebriated state, falls on the ground, and is coloured red, in that way. According to authoritative scripture, sunset is the melting into the ground of the sun.¹⁸

In this (stanza there is) *saṅkara* 'blending' because of *aṅgāṅgibhāva* 'main-subservient' relation, since the *rūpaka* and the *utprekṣā* require each other.¹⁹

Note (3)

Śabdālaṅkāra : ab, 4 x *p* ; cd, 5 x *t*.

Arthālaṅkāra : (1) *Rūpaka* in *aṁśupāṇibhiḥ*, (2) *śliṣṭarūpaka* in *madhu*, (3) *utprekṣā* in *kṣibatām iva gataḥ*. Between (1) and (2) on the one hand, and (3) on the other, a main-subservient relation holds, the *utprekṣā* being the *aṅgin*. The poet fancies, that the sun is red-faced drunk staggering on his feet, and falling to the ground.

Stanza 9.4

When the thousand-rayed one, which was becoming red (and therefore) had become capable of being looked at, the heat, after having left the earth, has entered the hearts of the *cakravāka* ducks.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *gamyatām*

Sahasramarīcau (means) *sūrye* 'the sun' (sg. loc.).

(In the sense of) *lohito bhavati* 'becomes red' (we derive) *lohitāyati*. (The denominative suffix) *Kyaṣ* (has been added) by P. 3.1.13.²⁰ (The participlesuffix) *ŚatR* (has been added) by P. 1.3.90.²¹ That is why (the poet says :)²²

Nayanānām gamyatām upagate (means) *darśanīyatām prāpte sati* 'when (the sun) had reached a state of being able to be looked at' (loc. abs.).²³

Abhitāpo dharitrīm.

Virahayya (means) *vihāya* 'after having left'. Substitution of *ay* by P. 6.4.56.²⁴

Cakravākahṛdayāni.

Āsasāda (means) *prāpa* 'has reached.' Ultimately, what it amounts to, is, that whatever fierce heat caused by the sun was there for the earth, such burning pain due to separation had originated in the hearts of *cakravāka* ducks.²⁵

But the text is (phrased) by deciding, that there is no difference (while there is difference) in the sense, that this (heat of the earth) itself has been transferred there (in the hearts of *cakravāka* ducks), because the manifestation of this (hot pain of ducks) immediately after the disappearance of that (heat of the earth).²⁶ That is why (there is) the *atiśayokti-alamkāra* in the form of (assuming) non-difference, when there is difference.²⁷

Note (4)

Śabdālamkāra : a, 3 x n ; ab, 3 x t.

Arthālamkāra : *Atiśayokti* in *abhitāpo dharitrīm virahayya cakravākahṛdayāni āsasāda*. The sunheat is transferred from the earth to the hearts of the ducks, and is identified with the burning pain of separation in those hearts. Obviously, the two are different, but the poet presents them as non-different.

Stanza 9.5

When the sun was setting halfway, the multitude of rays / servants, whose support / master had been mostly abandoned (and, which / who were therefore) insignificant, (and) by which / by whom the eastern sky / their earlier master had been left, being pressed together and (therefore) dense, being depressed and dull, as it were, has lost its luster / have lost their luster in the western sky / in their low position.²⁸

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *mukta*

Ravau.²⁹

Sāmi majjati (means) *ardhāstam ite sati* 'when (the sun) had halfway set'

(loc. abs.). [Quote from *Amara*].

Mukta (means) *tyaktaprāya* 'mainly abandoned.' *Mūla* (means) *āśrayabhūto raviḥ* 'the sun which was the support.' In the other case,²⁹ (*mūla* means) *svāmin* 'master.' That is why (the poet says:) *laghu* (which means) *alpaka* 'insignificant.' (In the sense of) *muktam mūlaṃ yena saḥ laghuḥ* 'by which / by whom the support / master had been mostly left, that insignificant one' (we derive *muktamūlalahuḥ*).

Ujjhitapūrvaḥ (means) *tyaktapūrvadikkaḥ* 'of which there was an eastern sky which had been left' (sg. nom. masc.). In the other case, (it means) *tyaktapūrvajanah* 'of whom there were former servants' (sg. nom. masc.).

Paścime nabhasi (means) *nabhobhāge* 'in a part of the sky.' In the other case (it means) *kvacin nīcasthale* 'in some or other low position.'

Sambhṛta (means) *sambhṛtaḥ san* 'being pressed together.' That is why (the poet says :) *sāndra* 'dense.' (In the sense of) *sambhṛtaḥ sāndraś ca* 'being pressed together and (therefore) dense' (sg. nom. masc.) (we derive *sambhṛtasāndraḥ*).

Rāsmisamūhaḥ.³⁰ But the servants are suggested (here).

(In the sense of) *khinnaś cāsau jihmaś ca* 'one who is dejected and (at the same time) dull' (sg. nom. masc.) (we derive *khinnajihmaḥ*). Or *khinna* (means) *duḥkha* 'pain.' (In that case, we derive *khinnajihmaḥ* as) *khinnena jihmaḥ* 'dull because of pain' (sg. nom. masc.).³¹

Iva na vireje :

In this (stanza, there is) *samāsokti*, because of our understanding of servants who are not the topic under discussion, due to their sharing of qualifiers with the topic under discussion, namely, having a support, which has been left, etc.³² This being so, because of the *utprekṣā* in feeling pained, etc. due to the statement of non-difference with sentient beings who are understood,³³ even of a multitude of rays, which is the directly expressed non-sentient being,³⁴ there is *saṅkara* 'blending' because of the main- subservient relation between the two.³⁵

Note (5)

Śabdālaṅkāra : b, 3 x s ; cd, 4 x m, 3 x r.

Arthālaṅkāra : (1) *Śleṣa*, in *muktamūlalahu* and *ujjhitapūrva*. For *śleṣa*, see *MGhK*, pp. 554-559. (2) *Utprekṣā*, in *khinnajihma iva*. The poet fancies, that the multitude of rays feels sad. (3) *Samāsokti*. The behaviour of the sun rays, which is the *prastuta* item, is described with the help of carefully selected qualifiers in such a way, that reference to a group of servants comes to our mind. (4) *Saṅkara* between (2) and (3), the *samāsokti* being the *aṅgin*.

Stanza 9.6

The sun rays, red like *kuṅkuma*, causing (the women) to make haste with regard to their evening finery, having entered through the windows of the mansions, have been looked at with respect by the women, as if they were female messengers of their loved ones.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *kānta*

(In the sense of) *kuṅkumavat* / *kuṅkumena tāmraḥ* ‘copper-coloured like/ because of *kuṅkuma*’ (pl. nom. fem.), (we derive *kuṅkumatāmraḥ*).

Sāya (means) *sāyamkāla* ‘evening time.’ [Quote from *Amara*] (In the sense of) *sāyasya yan maṇḍanam tat* ‘finery belong to evening time’ (sg. acc. ntr.) (we derive *sāyamaṇḍanam*).

Abhi (means) *uddiśya* ‘with reference to.’

Tvarayantyaḥ (means) *tvarāṁ kārayantyaḥ* ‘causing to make haste.’ (pl. nom. fem.).

Jāla (means) *gavākṣa* ‘window.’ *Patita* (means) *praviṣṭa* ‘entered.’ (In the sense of) *saudhānāṁ jālaiḥ patitāḥ* ‘entered through the windows of the mansions’ (pl. nom. fem.), (we derive *saudhajālapatitāḥ*) [Quote from *Vaijyantī*].

Ravibhāsāḥ (means) *sūryaraśmayāḥ* ‘sun rays’ (pl. nom.).

Kānta (means) *preyas* ‘loved one.’ (In the sense of) *kāntānāṁ dūtyāḥ* ‘female messengers of the loved ones’ (pl. nom.), (we derive *kāntadūtyāḥ*).

Iva vanitābhiḥ.

Sādaram (sc.) *yathā tathā* ‘in such a way, that (there was) respect.’³⁶

Dadṛśire (means) *dṛṣṭāḥ* ‘they have been looked at.’³⁷ That is to say, the women showed respect to those (rays) precisely, because the rays of the evening sun served as indications of the (expected) union with their loved ones.

Note (6)

Śabdālamkāra : c, 3 x d ; cd, 3 x s, 3 x t

Arthālamkāra : *Utprekṣā*, in *kāntadūtyāḥ iva dadṛśire*. Not mentioned by Mall., because it is obvious. The poet fancies, that the sun rays are female go-betweens sent by lovers to fix a rendezvous at night. Technically, the women are of the *abhisārikā* type mentioned in the *Daśarūpaka* (ed. Hass, 2.44). According to *Amara* (2.6.10), an *abhisārikā* is *kāntārthinī* ‘longing for her lover’ and goes to meet him by appointment. Compare the *Meghadūta* (ed. A. Scharpé, *Kālidāsa-Lexicon*, Vol. I, Part III. Brugge 1958), 37a, *gacchantīnāṁ ramanavasatiṁ yositāṁ tatra naktam (darśayorvīm)*, where the scene is set in Ujjayinī.

Stanza 9.7

Holding on the trees on the peak of the sunset mountain by means of extremely yellowish hands, which were soft rays, has the sun perhaps entered a (mountain) forest, perhaps the ocean, (or) perhaps the earth ?

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *agra*

Vivasvān (means) *sūryaḥ* 'the sun' (sg. nom.).

Agra (means) *astaśailaśikhara* 'the top of the sunset mountain.' (In the sense of) *agre ye sānavaḥ* 'the ridges which are on the top of the sunset mountain' (we derive *agrasānavaḥ*).

(*Teṣu ye*) *bhūruhās tān* 'the trees (which were) on those (ridges),' (pl. acc.).

Nitāntapiśaṅgaiḥ (means) *atyantāruṇaiḥ* 'with extremely yellowish ones' (pl. instr. masc).

Kara (means) *aṁśu* 'ray.' (In the sense of) *mṛdubhiḥ karair eva karaiḥ* with hands that were soft rays (we derive *mṛdukaraiḥ*).³⁸ This is *śliṣṭarūpaka* 'rūpaka based on *śleṣa*.'³⁹ Or, alternatively, *mṛdu* (means) *ślātham* 'softly.' (In that case) *karaiḥ* (is a separate word).

Avalambya.

(In the sense of) *asta iti śailaḥ* 'the mountain called *asta* "sunset"' (we derive) *astaśailaḥ*. [Quote from *Amara*]⁴⁰ *Gahana* (means) *kānana* 'forest.' (In the sense of) *astaśailas tasya gahanam* 'the forest of the sunset mountain' (sg. acc.) (we derive *astaśailagahanam*).

Nu.

Jaladhiṁ nu mahiṁ nv āviveśa. Doubt only is felt regarding the setting of the sun. But the (manner of the) setting of that (sun), and where, that we don't understand. (The poet) means to say, because it happened so quickly.

In this (stanza, there is) the *saṁdeha-alamkāra* because of doubt due to the fact, that there are different (possible) places of setting attributes to the sun, in the form of a forest, etc.⁴¹

Note (7)

Śabdālamkāra : b, 3 x r ; cd, 4 x v.

Arthālamkāra : (1) *Śliṣṭarūpaka* 'rūpaka based on *śleṣa*,' in *mṛdukaraiḥ*, if taken as cp. (2) *Saṁdeha*, in *astaśailagahanam nu ... jaladhiṁ nu mahiṁ nu*. The sun sets so quickly, that we can't see where it disappears. (3) *Samśṛṣṭi* 'commingling,' because there is no *angāṅgibhāva* between (1) and (2). If *mṛdu* and *karaiḥ* are taken as separate words not standing in a qualifier-qualified relation, there is only *saṁdeha-alamkāra*.

Stanza 9.8

Pervaded by the sounds of flitting groups of birds, the red colour of twilight being absent (and) particularly pale, because there was no sun (any more), the end of the day became similar to daybreak.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ākulaḥ*

Cala (means) *kulāyebhyaḥ kulāyān prati calat* 'flitting from nest to nest.'

Patatrikula (means) *pakṣīsamūha* 'a multitude of birds'. (In the sense of) *calānām patatrikulānām* 'of flitting groups of birds' (pl. gen.), (we derive *calapatatrikulānām*).

Āravaiḥ (means) *śabdaiḥ* 'by the sounds' (pl. instr.).

Ākulaḥ (means) *vyāptaḥ* 'pervaded' (sg. nom. masc.).

By the word *anudita*, merely an absence is meant to be conveyed, and by the word *uṣas*, a mere absence of twilight. (In the sense of) *uṣasi bhavaḥ* 'originating at dawn', (we derive) *auṣasa*. The suffix *aN* (is added) due to *yogavibhāga* 'splitting of the rule' by P. 4.3.16. Otherwise, there would be the suffix *thaN*, because (*uṣas* is a) time (indicating word).⁴² And in that way (we justify the form) *anuditaṣasarāgaḥ*. That is to say, *avidyamānasam̐dhyārāgaḥ* 'in which the red colour of twilight is not found.' On the one hand, because (the sun) had left, on the other, because (the sun) had not risen (yet). This is what (the poet) means to say.

Aharidaśvaḥ (means) *avidyamānasūryaḥ* 'of which the sun was not found.'

On the one hand, because the sun had not risen (yet), on the other hand, because it had (already) set. This is what (the poet) means. Therefore,⁴³ *vipāṇḍuh* 'pale.' Supply *timirānudayāt* 'because darkness had not set in (yet).'

Dināntaḥ (means) *sāyam̐kālaḥ* 'evening time' (sg. nom.).

Dinamukhena (means) *prātaḥkālena* 'with daybreak.'

Tulyatām āyayau.⁴⁴ That is to say, has become like that (daybreak). Therefore there is *upamā-alam̐kāra*.⁴⁵

Note (8)

Śabdālam̐kāra : a, 3 x *l* ; ab, 3 x *r* ; d, 3 x *n*.

Arthālam̐kāra : *Upamā*. The evening time, end of the day, is likened to its beginning on three accounts, (1) the twittering of birds, (2) the absence of the red twilight colour, and (3) the pale colour of the sky.

Stanza 9.9

The western part of the sky pervaded by the twilight having rows of cloud

which had become concealed⁴⁶ wore the beauty of the sea coloured with the luster of a multitude of coral, which had been transferred to the waves.

(Commentary of the stanza beginning with) *āsthita*

Sthagitavāridapaṅktyā (means) *pihitameghavṛndayā* 'having a mass of clouds, that had become concealed' (sg. instr. fem.).

Samdhyayā.

Āsthitaḥ (means) *ākrāntaḥ* (that is) *vyāptaḥ* 'pervaded' (sg. nom. masc.).

Gaganapaścimabhāgaḥ.

Sormiḥ. That is to say, *ūrmisaṁkrāntā* 'transferred to the waves' (sg. nom. fem.).

Vidrumavitānavibhāsā (means) *pravālaprakarakāntyā* 'by that luster of a mass of coral.' *Raṅjitasya* (means) *svasavārṇyam āpāditasya* 'of that one, which has assumed the state of having the same colour as itself.'

Jaladheḥ śriyam ūhe. (The poet) means to say, on account of the red colouring of the twilight. The pf. ending (is used) in the sense of agent after (the verbal base quoted as) *vahati*.⁴⁷ That is to say, it has displayed a beauty similar to (that of) those (coral-coloured waves). Therefore, (in this stanza there is the) *nidarśanā-alaṁkāra*.⁴⁸

Note (9)

Śabdālaṁkāra : c. *vi...vi...vi*.

Arthālaṁkāra : *Nidarśanā*. The poet makes a connection between the evening sky with its reddish-coloured clouds hardly visible and the sea with its coral-coloured waves, and says that the sky reflects the colour of waves.

Stanza 9.10

After having abandoned the love for people, even when showing respectfully folded hands, heads bowed, their minds concentrated on it, the disappearing twilight has imitated the friendship of bad persons through its unsteadiness.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *prāñjalau*

(In the sense of) *prabaddho'ñjalir yena tasmin* 'by whom a respectful folding of hands had been formed,' (sg. loc. masc.),⁴⁹ (we derive *prāñjalau*, that is) *baddhāñjalau* 'with regard to one having a formed respectful folding of the hands.' [Quote from *Amara*]. A *bv. cp.* has to be stated optionally of a verbal derivative preceded by *pra*, etc. and deletion of the second member (takes place).⁵⁰

Natamūrdhni (means) *namaskurvāṇe* 'with regard to a one, who pays respect' (sg. loc. masc.).

(*Tat* means *tatra* (that is) *saṁdhyāyām* ‘with regard to the twilight.’ (In the sense of *tatra eva āhitam cetasa yasya tasmin* ‘whose mind is concentrated on that (twilight),’ (sg. loc. masc.), (we derive *tatpravaṇacetasi*). Even with regard to such a one.

Jane (sc.) *viṣaye* ‘with regard to.’⁵¹

Prema.

Hitvā (means) *vihāya* ‘after having abandoned.’

Viramantyā (means) *nivartamānayā* ‘by the disappearing one’ (sg. instr. fem.). The *par.* ending is by P. 1.3.83.⁵²

Samdhyayā.

Cāpalena (means) *asthairyeṇa*. ‘through unsteadiness.’ The suffix *aN* (has been added) on account of (*capala*) belonging to the *yuvādi* (-gaṇa).⁵³

Sujanetara (means) *durjana* ‘bad persons.’ *Maitrī* (means) *sakhyam* ‘friendship.’

(In the sense of) *sujanād itaras tasya maitrī* ‘the friendship of someone, other than good people’ (sg. nom.), (we derive *sujanetaramaitrī*).

Anuvidadhe (means) *anucakre* ‘has imitated.’ The pf. ending (is used) in the active sense.⁵⁴ That is to say, like friendship with bad people abandons even a loving one, like that the (evening) twilight⁵⁵ also abandoned a person performing worship.

(In the sense of) *mitrasya karma* ‘the act of friend’, (we derive) *maitra*. (The fem. suffix) *ÑiP* (has been added to a form) ending in *aN*.⁵⁶

In this (stanza) the unsteadiness of the twilight and the friendship of bad people is the common property (leading the poet to speak of) *anuvidhāna* ‘imitation.’⁵⁷ Therefore, there is *upamā* by implication.⁵⁸

Note (10)

Śabdālaṁkāra : cd, 3 x n.

Arthālaṁkāra : *Upamā*. The action of the twilight in leaving even persons, who respectfully perform their *saṁdhyā* devotions is likened to the unreliable friendship of bad persons. The *saṁdhyopāsana* or *saṁdhyāvandana* with the recitation of the *Gāyatrī-mantra* is *nityakarman*, an obligatory rite to be performed every day by orthodox brahmins. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, B.O.R.I.; Pune 1974, p. 312-316.

Stanza 9.11

Having concealed itself, as if out of fear for the heat of dawn, the darkness,

more powerful on account of the cessation of the sun heat, somewhat slowly appeared from a hole has reached level ground.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *auṣasa*

(*Auṣasa* means) *prābhātika* 'belonging to daybreak.'⁵⁹ (In the sense of) *auṣasād ātapād bhayaṁ tasmād iva* 'as if out of fear for the heat of dawn', (we derive *auṣasātapabhayāt*). This is *utprekṣā*.⁶⁰

Apalīnam (means) *kvacid gūḍham* 'concealed somewhere' (sg. nom. ntr.).

(*Vāsaracchavi* means) *ātapa* 'heat' (*Paṭīyaḥ* means) *prabhaviṣṇutaram* 'more powerful.' (In the sense of) *vāsaracchaver vīramād* (sc.) *hetoh⁶¹ paṭīyaḥ* 'more powerful on account of the cessation of the sun heat' (sg. nom. ntr.). (we derive) *vāsaracchavipaṭīyaḥ*.

(In the sense of) *andham karoti* 'causes dark', (we derive) *andhakāram* (which means) *dhvānam* 'night' (sg. nom.). [Quote from *Amara*]. Then, immediately after the twilight had gone.

Śanakaiḥ (means) *mandamandam* 'very slowly.'⁶²

Nimnāt.

Samnipatya (means) *āgatyā* 'after having appeared.'

Samāni (means) *samasthalāni* 'level ground.'

Udavāpa (means) *vyānaśe* 'has occupied'.⁶³

In this (stanza), because we understand an item, which is not the topic of description on account of the sameness of the qualifiers of the darkness, which is the topic of description, there is the *samāsokti-ālamkāra*.⁶⁴ But let the *utprekṣā* be there as an *aṅga* 'supporting element'.⁶⁵

Note (11)

Śabdālamkāra : b, 3 x v ; cd, 3 x n. We note, that *pāda* b consists of one cp.

Arthālamkāra : (1) *Utprekṣā*, (2) *Samāsokti* and (3) *San̄kara*. Rather curiously, Mall. connects *iva* in *pāda* c with *bhayāt* in *pāda* a. Given the place of *iva*, the more natural connection would be with *samnipatya nimnāt*. In that case, *bhayāt* could still be interpreted as an *utprekṣā*, albeit without the explicit use of *iva*, so that the *utprekṣā* is *gamyā* 'to be understood (only).' Consequently, the stanza will contain two *utprekṣās*. In *utprekṣā*, the poet, in his imagination, presents the topic, about which he talks as something different from what it really is. In *samāsokti* the non-topic of description, in our case, the thief, is evoked through the skilful use of the qualifiers of the darkness, which can be made to apply to the thief also. The *utprekṣā* or the two *utprekṣās*, which are mutually independent, serve as the *aṅga*

‘supporting factor’ for the *samāsokti*. Thus *saṅkara* results, for which see *MChK* pp. 561-562.

Stanza 9.12

The distinction, even of any big thing, since it had become one (with the rest), was no more perceived, so to speak. By the sun, which had set, the differences in the worlds had been deposited in itself, as it were.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ekatām*

Ekatām (means) *abhedam* ‘non-distinctness’ (sg. acc.).

Gatasya iva.⁶⁶ This is *utprekṣā*, because we understand in that way due to the spread of darkness.⁶⁷

Mahataḥ (means) *śailādeḥ api* ‘even of a mountain, etc.’

Kasyacit (means) *kasyāpi padārthasya* ‘of anything whatsoever.’

Vivekaḥ (means) *bhedāḥ* ‘difference’ (sg. nom.).

Na upalebhe (means) *na grhītaḥ* ‘has not been grasped.’⁶⁸ Therefore (the poet) imagines (the following).

Patitena (means) *astamitena* ‘by the one which had set.’

Bhāsvatā (means) *sūryeṇa* ‘by the sun’ [Quote from *Amara*].

Bhuvanānām. That is to say, *bhuvanasthapadārthānām* ‘of things located in the worlds.’

Viśeṣāḥ (means) *bhūdharādibhedāḥ* ‘difference in the form of mountains, etc.’

Ātmani (means) *svasminn eva* ‘in itself only.’

Nidadhire iva (means) *nihitāḥ iva* ‘deposited’ (pl. nom. masc.), as it were. That is to say, otherwise, how could they not be perceived ?

In this (stanza), because they require each other, of two *utprekṣās*, which are of the same kind,⁶⁹ there is *saṅkara*, due to *aṅgāṅgibhāva* ‘a main-subordinate relation.’⁷⁰

Note (12)

Śabdālaṅkāra : a, 3 x v ; cd, 5 x n, 3 x t.

Arthālaṅkāra : *Utprekṣā* twice, each indicated by *iva*, and *saṅkara*. The poet fancies, that due to the all-encompassing, darkness all things have become one since they are not perceived as distinct any more. Then he imagines, that the sun which has set, has taken in the differences of all the things. Since the first *utprekṣā* serves as the *aṅga* to support the second one, there is *saṅkara*.

Stanza 9.13

Even though they wished for non-separation from their loving females, the love pairs of (*cakravāka*) birds necessarily separated during the nights, have definitely become separated. Indeed, the decree of fate can not be infringed upon.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *icchatām*

Vadhūbhiḥ (means) *svakāminībhiḥ* 'with their loving women.'

Saha.

Abhedam (means) *aviyogam* 'non-separation' (sg. acc.).

Ichchatām. That is to say, even of those, who had decided (to stay together).

(In the sense of) *yāminīṣu virahiṇām* 'of those separated during the nights' (we derive *yāminīvirahiṇām*). (The suffix) *NinI* (is added) after (the verbal base quoted as) *rahati* 'to separate'⁷¹ in the sense of necessarily.⁷² Or rather, (the suffix) *inI* (is added) in the sense of *nindā* 'blame.'⁷³

Vihagānām (means) *cakravākānām* of the *Cakravāka* ducks.⁷⁴

Mithunāni viyogam āpur eva. But it is not the case, that they did not obtain (separation). Thus, there is exclusion of non-separation.⁷⁵

To explain,⁷⁶

Kālaniyogaḥ (means) *daivājñā* 'a decree of fate' (sg. nom.).

Na laṅghyate khalu. That is to say, it is difficult to avoid.

Note (13)

Śabdālamkāra : *Vṛtṭyanuprāsa* in cd, *yogam... yogaḥ*.

Arthālamkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*, in the form of the corroboration of a particular instance by a general truth. However much the *cakravāka* ducks want to stay together during the night, they have to separate because fate has decreed it so.

Stanza 9.14

When the male *cakravāka* bird, having gone near to her, was speaking to the beloved female, facing (her), the lotus plant bent down its flower, which had abandoned its bloom, like a face.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *yacchati*

Śakuntau (means) *cakravākapakṣiṇi* 'a *cakravāka* bird' (sg. loc.). (*Śakunti* is interpreted like that) because a general meaning has resulted in a particular meaning, required by the context. [Quote from *Amara*].

Antikagate (means) *samīpasthe* 'being near' (sg. loc. masc.).

Api.

Dayitāyai (means) *cakravākyai* 'to the female *cakravāka* duck.'

Pratimukham (means) *abhimukham yathā tathā* 'in such a way, as to facing (the other bird).'

Vācam yacchati (means) *vācam eva dadāti* 'when he was speaking only' (loc. abs.).⁷⁷ That is to say, when not being united. Substitution of *yacch-* for *dāN-* by P. 7.3.78.⁷⁸

Amburuhinṇā (means) *nalinyā* 'by a lotus plant.'

Ujjhitaharṣam (means) *cakravākadurdaśādarśanād iva tyaktavikāsam* 'having its bloom abandoned on account of seeing, so the speak, the sorry state of the *cakravāka* duck' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Pañkajam mukham iva.

Natim (means) *namratvam* 'the being bowed down' (sg. acc.).

Nīyate sma (means) *nītam* 'has been led to.'⁷⁹ Because *nī-* to lead to has two objects, the pf. ending is used in the sense of the main object by *śloka-vārttika* VIII on P. 1.4.51.⁸⁰ Usually, women feel pain on account of seeing misfortune. (The poet) means to say, because of seeing separation (of two love birds) especially.

In this (stanza), the status of cause is imagined⁸¹, because the bowing down of the lotus flower follows immediately on the lament of the *cakravāka* duck.⁸² And that (assumption of *hetu-utprekṣā*) is accomplished by the lotus plant being caused to become similar to a loving woman through the comparison with a face.⁸³ Therefore, due to the *aṅgāṅgibhāva* 'main-subordinate relation' of the *upamā* and the *utprekṣā*, there is *sañkara*.⁸⁴ The *utprekṣā* is being understood, because an indicative word has not been used.⁸⁵

Note (14)

Śabdālaṅkāra : ab, 3 x t ; c, 3 x t.

Arthālaṅkāra : (1) *Upamā*, (2) *utprekṣā* and (3) *sañkara*. The flower (*pañkajam*) of the lotus plant (*amburuhinṇ*) is compared to a face. The poet fancies, that after hearing the lament of the male duck, the lotus plant bends down its flower, which had lost its bloom, in sympathy, as it were. Here the *upamā* functions as the *aṅga* 'supporting factor' for the *utprekṣā*, which is the *aṅgin*. The result is *sañkara*, a blending of the two *alaṅkāras*.

Stanza 9.15

Had perhaps the various trees and mountains been painted over by the darkness? Or had the sky been caused to bend down, or had it been concealed? Or had

the earth been made level in its low and high places? Or had the quarters of the sky been compressed together?

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *rañjitā*

Timireṇa (means) *andhakāreṇa* 'by the darkness.'

Vividhāḥ.

(In the sense of) *taravaḥ śailās ca* 'trees and mountains' (we derive *taruśailāḥ*).

Rañjitāḥ (means) *svasāvarṇyam āpāditaḥ* 'having come to have the same colour of (darkness) itself' (pl. nom. masc.).

Nu. (The poet) means to say, otherwise how could they be rich in dark colour?

Similarly,

Gaganam nāmitam nu. Supply *ā bhūtalāt* 'up to the surface of the earth.' Shortening (of the verbal base vowel in *nāmita*) has not taken place, because *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* is accepted, due to the continuation of the word *vā* in P. 6.4.92.⁸⁶

Or rather,⁸⁷

Gaganam.

Sthagitam (nu) (means) *ācchāditaṁ nu* 'or has (the sky) been concealed?' (The poet) means to say, even in both cases, it was not seen because of its being covered by darkness.

Similarly,

Dharitrī.

Viṣameṣu (means) *nimnonnateṣu* 'in low and high places.'

Pūritā (means) *samīkṛtā* 'made level' (sg. nom. fem.).

Nu. (The poet) means to say, otherwise, how could discernment of these (places) not take place?

Kakubhas (means) *diśaś ca* 'and the quarters of the sky' (pl. nom.).

Sarṁhṛtāḥ (means) *luptāḥ kinī* 'erased perhaps?' (pl. nom. fem.). (The poet) means to say, otherwise, how could they not be seen?

(In this (stanza), there is *saṁdeha-ālaṁkāra*, because one doubts after having superimposed the colour status, etc. of the several topics of description in the form of trees and mountains, etc. on the darkness.⁸⁸ Also,⁸⁹ on account of the fact that possibility is hinted at (by *nu*), there is a kind of *utprekṣā* here, the author of the *Ālaṁkārasarvasva* says.⁹⁰

Note (15)

Śabdālaṁkāra : ab, 5 x n, of which 3 times in *nu* . . *nu* . . *nu*, 3 x t ; cd, 3 x r.

Arthālamkāra : (Sa) *saṁdeha*. Five doubts are stated in succession, indicated by *nu*, and all of them concerned with the effect of night and darkness falling. The doubts are as many possibilities, five different ways of looking at the darkness. At the basis of *saṁdeha* lies a comparison, in the present case, between darkness as the *upamā*, and five possible *upameyas*, like painting trees and mountains with a dark colour, presented by way of doubt. Typical of *saṁdeha*, in distinction from *utprekṣā*, is that the doubt remains undecided in equal proportion between the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. No decision is made in favour of one or the other.

Stanza 9.16

After beauty had left the lotuses, dark-coloured due to their colouring by the night (and) abandoning their bloom, it has gone to the clear-starred sky. Everybody wants to stay in a safe place.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *rātri*

Śrīḥ (means) *śobhā* 'beauty' (sg. nom.). (Functions as the) agent.⁹¹

(*Rātri* means) *saṁdhyā* 'evening.' (*Rāga* means) *svacchāyoparañjanena* 'by the colouring with its own colour.' (In the sense of) *rātreḥ rāgeṇa malināni* 'dark-coloured by the colouring with its own colour' (pl. nom. ntr.), (we derive *rātrirāgamalināni*).

Therefore,⁹²

Vikāsam.

Rahayanti (means) *tyajanti* 'abandoning' (pl. nom. ntr.). The suffix *ŚatR* (has been added) after the verbal base quoted as *rahatī* in the sense of abandoning.⁹³

Pañkajāni.

Vihāya (means) *tyaktvā* 'after having abandoned.'

Spaṣṭatāarakam.

Nabhaḥ (means) *kham* 'the sky' (sg. acc.).

Iyāya (means) *prāpa* 'has reached.'

To explain,⁹⁴

Sarvo janaḥ.

Nirāpadi (means) *nirbādhasthale* 'in a place without obstruction.'

Vastum (means) *sthātum* 'to stay.' Prohibition of (the augment) *iT* by P. 7.2.10.⁹⁵ On account of the statement *ghasiś ca santeṣu vasiḥ prasāriṇī* and among (the verbal bases) ending in *s* there are *ghasi* (and) *vasi* which takes *saṁprasāraṇa*.⁹⁶

Icchatī.

Note (16)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x n, 3 x r.

Arthālamkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*. A particular instance, namely, the beauty of the lotuses going off into the sky, is corroborated by a general truth, namely, that everybody wants a safe place.

Stanza 9.17

Let loose by the moon (and) whitish like the filament of a *ketukī* flower, the multitude of rays has spread all over the direction belonging to Indra which had an acquired beauty, as if it were a fistful of camphor powder.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *vyānaśe*

Śaśadhareṇa (means) *candreṇa* 'by the moon.'

Vimuktaḥ (means) *kṣiptaḥ* 'thrown out' (sg. nom. masc.).

(In the sense of) *ketakīkusumakesaraḥ iva pāṇḍuḥ* 'whitish like the filament of a *ketakī* flower' (sg. nom. masc.), (we derive *ketakīkusumapāṇḍuḥ*).

(*Lambhita* means) *prāpita* 'caused to be obtained.' (In the sense of) *lambhitā kāntir yasya saḥ* 'which had an acquired beauty,' (sg. nom. masc.), (we derive *lambhitakāntiḥ*).

Aṁśusamūhaḥ (means) *raśmisamūhaḥ* 'a multitude of rays' (sg. nom.).

(*Cūrṇa* means) *karpurakṣoda* 'powder of camphor' (sg. nom.) (we derive *cūrṇamuṣṭiḥ*).

Iva. Although the word *muṣṭi* has two genders,⁹⁷ here the masc. gender only is to be understood because of conformity with the *upameya*.⁹⁸

Vāsavasya (means) *indrasya* 'belonging to Indra.'

Dīśam (sc.) *prācīm* 'the eastern (direction)' (sg. acc.).⁹⁹

Vyānaśe (means) *prāpa* 'has reached.' Thereby, of the quarter of the sky and the moon similarity is understood¹⁰⁰ with a *nāyikā* and a *nāyaka*.

Note (17)

Śabdālamkāra : a, 3 x ś ; b, 4 x k ; cd, 3 x m. *Pāda* b consists of one cp.

Arthālamkāra : (1) *Upamā*, (2) *utprekṣā* and (3) *San̥kara*, not mentioned by Mall., presumably, because he thinks they are clear anyway. The colour of the moon rays is likened to that of a filament of the *ketukī* flower. The poet also fancies, that the multitude of moon rays covering the eastern direction is a fistful of camphor powder, so to speak. Between the two *alamkāras* an *aṅgāṅgibhāva* holds in respect of colour, the *upamā* being the *aṅga*. The result is *san̥kara*, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561.

Mall. notes, however, an indirectly expressed similarity of the *diśā* (fem.) with a *nāyikā* and of the *niśākara* 'moon' (masc.) with a *nāyaka*. The idea comes from the next stanza.

Stanza 9.18

When the lord of the *nakṣatras* (the moon) was drawing near, the direction of Indra (the east), quickly dispelling darkness, as if it were grief, has borne a front part like a face whose ornament was its quality of clarity itself, (and) which was bright with smile-like (moon) rays.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ujjhatī*

(In the sense of) *indrasya iyam* 'this (fem.) belongs to Indra' (we derive *aindrī*)

(sg. nom. fem.).¹⁰¹

Dik (sc.) *prācī* 'the eastern direction' (sg. nom.).

Tārakarāje (means) *nakṣatranāthe* 'the lord of the constellations' (sg. loc.).¹⁰²

[Quote from *Viśva*].

Antikam (means) *samīpam* 'near.'

Vrajati (sc.) *satī* 'when ... was moving' (loc. abs.).

Āśu.

Tamīsrām (means) *andhatamasam* 'dense darkness' (sg. acc.). [Quote from *Vaijayantī*]

Śucam iva. That is to say, the pain of separation, as it were.¹⁰³

Ujjahāti (means) *vijahāti* 'abandoning' (sg. nom. fem.).

(*Prasāda* means) *nairmalya* 'clarity.' (In the sense of) *prasādaḥ eva guṇaḥ sa eva maṇḍanaṁ yasya tad* 'that (sg. acc. ntr.), whose ornament was nothing but a quality, which itself was clarity' (we derive *prasādaguṇamaṇḍanam*).

(In the sense of) *raśmayo hāsa iva tena viśadam* 'rays like a smile, there by bright (sg. acc. ntr.)' (we derive *raśmihāsavīśadam*).

Mukham (means) *mukham iva mukham* (that is) *agrabhāgam* 'a front part like a face' (sg. acc.).¹⁰⁴

Ūhe (means) *vahati sma* 'has borne.'¹⁰⁵

In this (stanza) similarity with a *nāyikā* and a *nāyaka* is understood¹⁰⁶ of *dik* '(the eastern) direction' and *candra* 'the moon.'¹⁰⁷

Note (18)

Śabdālaṁkāra : ab, 3 x *m*, 3 x *t* ; cd, 4 x *m*

Arthālamkāra : (1) *Utprekṣā* of the *phala*-variety, (2) *upamā*, (3) *śleṣa*, and (4) *saṅkara*. The *utprekṣā* is expressed by *tamisrām ujihatī śucam iva*. *Upamā* is expressed twice, once by the cp. *raśmihāsa*, and by means of *śleṣa* of the word *mukham* as *mukham iva mukham*. The *śleṣa* is necessary to connect the word *mukham* meaningfully with the *upameya* and the *upamāna*. Here the *śleṣa* is subservient to the *upamā*, which results in *saṅkara*, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561. The *upamā* itself is an instance of *śliṣṭopamā*, a variety not found in the *KP*, but discussed in the *Ekāvalī*. See *The Ekāvalī of Vidyādhara*. With explanatory Notes by K. P. Trivedi. Bombay 1903, p.197, and Notes, pp. 535-536. Between the *utprekṣā* on the one hand, and the two *upamās* on the other, another *aṅgāṅgibhāva* holds, in the sense, that the *upamās* assist in bringing about the *utprekṣā*, the result being another *saṅkara*. In addition, as noted by Mall., the moon and the eastern direction assume the roles of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, respectively. They do so on the strength of the mention of grief - a veiled reference to *vīpralambhaśṛṅgāra*, love in separation, the aesthetic mood evoked by the description of a lovelorn woman in Sanskrit play. See n. 25.

Stanza 9.19

The multitude of rays of the white-rayed one, whose disc had been screened by the sunrise mountain, falling on the sky, which was like a dark blue lotus, (and) brilliantly white like snow, has shone like the water of the Gaṅgā, brilliantly white like snow, falling on the water of the sea.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *nīla*

Śailaruddhavapuṣaḥ (means) *udayagiritamaṇḍalasya* 'whose disc had been screened from view by the sunrise mountain' (sg. gen. Masc.)¹⁰⁸

Sitaraśmeh (means) *indoḥ* (sc.) *sambandhi* 'belonging to the moon' (sg. nom. ntr.).¹⁰⁹

Nīlanīrajanibhe (means) *śyāmakamalatulye* 'similar to a dark blue lotus' (sg. loc. ntr.).

Khe (means) *ākāśe* 'in the sky.'

Nipatat (means) *prasarat* 'spreading' (sg. nom. ntr.).

(*Gaura* means) *śubhra* 'brilliantly white.' (In the sense of) *himavad gauram* 'brilliantly white like snow' (sg. nom. ntr.), (we derive *himagauram*).

Karajālam (means) *aśśusamūhaḥ* 'a multitude of rays' (sg. nom.).

Vāridheḥ *payasi nipatat gāṅgam ambhu iva rarāje*.

The adjectives are to be connected with the *upamāna* also.¹¹⁰

Note (19)

Śabdālamkāra : a, 3 x n ; ab, 4 x r ; c, 3 x r.

Arthālamkāra : *Upamā*. The *upameya* are the moon rays. The *upamāna* is the water of the Gaṅgā. from the correspondences of the qualifications of the two another, minor *upamā* can be inferred, namely, of the sky with the sea. The qualifications of the moon rays are (1) *himagauram*, and (2) *khe nipatat*. The qualifications of the Gaṅgā water are (1) *himagauram* - reference being to a foaming mountain river - and (2) *vāridheḥ payasi nipatat*. In (2) *khe* corresponds to *vāridheḥ payasi*. In addition, the cp. *himagauram* contains an *upamā*. The relation between this latter *upamā* and the one of the moon rays likened to the Gaṅgā water, can be seen as an *aṅgāṅgibhāva*, leading to *saṅkara*. There is no such relation between the main *upamā* (moon rays likened to Gaṅgā water) and the minor one (sky likened to the sea) Thus, theoretically, this should be an instance of *saṁsṛṣṭi* 'commingling', for which see *MGhK*, pp. 559-560.

Stanza 9.20

The darkness obstructing the sky, (and) similar to an exceedingly dark cloud, being pushed away in the east by the one, whose rays are other than non-white (i. e., the moon), (and) whose rays had risen, has shone like the elephant skin, similar to an exceeding dark cloud, being pushed away in front by Śambhu having raised hands.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *dyām*

Dyām nirundhat (means) *ākāśam āvṛṇvat* 'covering the sky' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Atinīlaghanābham (means) *mecakam* 'black' (sg. nom. ntr.).

(*Kara* means) *aṁśu* and *hasta* 'hand.' (In the sense of) *udyatāḥ karāḥ yasya tena* 'by him, whose rays / hands had been raised up' (we derive *udyatakareṇa*).¹¹¹

(*Asitād itarād* means) 'other than a non-white one.' (which means) *śubhra* 'white.' (In the sense of) *asitebhyaḥ itarāḥ bhāsāḥ yasya tena* 'by one, whose rays are other than non-white', (we derive *asitetarabhāsā*, which means) *candreṇa* 'by the moon.'

Purastāt (means) *prācyām* 'in the east' and *agre* 'in front.'¹¹²

Kṣipyamānam (means) *tudyamānam* 'being pushed' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Dhvāntam.

Śambhunā kṣipyamānam karicarma iva cakāse.

The adjectives are to be connected with the *upamāna* also.¹¹³

Note (20)

Śabdālamkāra : a, 3 x n.

Arthālamkāra : *Upamā* and *śleṣa*. The *upameya* is the darkness. The *upamāna* is the elephant skin worn by Śiva. The qualifications of the *upameya* are (1) *dyām nirundhat*, (2) *atinīlaghanābha*, and (3) *udyatakareṇa śambhunā purastāt kṣipyamānam*. Here (1) is not applicable to the *upamāna*, (2) is applicable, (3) also, but *śambhunā* is to be replaced by *asitetareṇa*, and *kara* and *purastāt* are to be taken in a different meaning by means of *śleṣa*. From the correspondence of *śambhunā* and *asitetareṇa* in (3) another, minor *upamā* can be inferred, namely, between the moon and Śiva. The relation between *śleṣa* and the main *upamā* (darkness likened to the elephant skin) is *aṅgāṅgibhāva*, leading to *saṅkara*, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561. No such relation holds between the main *upamā* and the minor one. Therefore, this is an instance of *saṁsrṣṭi*, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 559-560. Compare Note (19).

Stanza 9.21

When the multitude of rays spread by the moon, which had come very near, abandoned its compact shape, the horizon released from obstruction by the mass darkness has shone, breathing more freely, so to speak.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *antikā*

(*Antikāntike* means) *atisamīpe* 'extremely near.'¹¹⁴ Doubling by P. 8.1.12. *Luk*- deletion (of case ending) because of treatment like *kdh*. cp.¹¹⁵ (*Viśrṣṭa* means) *mukta* 'let loose.' (In the sense of) *antikāntike gatena indunā viśrṣṭe* 'spread by the moon, which had come very near' (sg. loc. ntr.), (we derive *antikāntikagataviśrṣṭe*).

Dīdhitejāle (means) *kiraṇasamūhe* 'the multitude of rays' (sg. loc.).

Jihmatām (means) *saṅkocam* 'compact form' (sg. acc.).

Jahati (means) *tyajati* (sc.) *sati* 'when abandoning' (loc. abs.).

(*Timirabhara* means) *tamaḥstoma* 'mass of darkness.' *Nirodha* (means) *uparodha* 'obstruction.' (In the sense of) *timirabharaiḥ nirodhāt* 'from the obstruction by the massed darkness', (we derive *timiranirodhāt*).

Niḥsṛtaḥ (means) *nirgataḥ* 'gone away (from)' (sg. nom. masc.).

Digantaḥ.

Ucchvasan (means) *prāṇan* 'breathing (anew)' (sg. nom. masc.).

Iva rarāja. This is the *utprekṣā-alamkāra*.¹¹⁶

Note (21)

Śabdālamkāra : a, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *antikāntika* ; b, 3 x j ; cd, 4 x r.

Arthālaṃkāra : *Utprekṣā*. The poet fancies, that the horizon released from darkness breathes more freely, when the moon rays had come very near.

Stanza 9.22

The moon with its sickle having a clear coral-like luster, has thrown upward the dense darkness like the primeval boar the orb of the earth with its fang yellowish like a golden cutting tool.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *lekhayā*

Induḥ.

Vimalavidrumabhāsā (means) *svacchapravālavarnayā* 'possessing the colour of clear coral' (sg. instr. fem.).

Samtataṃ (means) *sāndram* 'dense' (sg. acc. ntr.).

Timiram.

Ādivarāhaḥ.¹¹⁷

(*Taṅka* means) *śilābhedakam śastram* 'a stone cutting tool.' [Quote from *Amara*] (*Piśaṅga* means) *lohitavarṇa* 'having a yellowish colour.' (In the sense of) *kanakasya taṅkaḥ tadvat piśaṅgyā* 'one having a yellowish colour like a golden stone cutting tool' (sg. instr. fem.), (we derive *kanakataṅkapiśaṅgyā*) (the fem. suffix) *ŌiP* (is added) by Vt. III on P. 4.1.39.¹¹⁸

Damṣṭryā bhuvah maṇḍalam iva.¹¹⁹

Udāse (means) *uccikṣipe*. After the verbal base quoted as *asyati*.¹²⁰ The pf. ending (has been added) in the sense of agent.¹²¹ The *ātm.* ending (is added) the verbal base quoted as *asyati* because of option.¹²²

Note (22)

Śabdālaṃkāra : b, 3 x t ; ab, 4 x m ; d, 3 x v.

Arthālaṃkāra : *Upamā*. The *upameya* is *induḥ*. The *upamāna* is *ādivarāhaḥ*. The qualification of the *upameya* is *vimalavidumabhāsā lekhayā samtataṃ timiram* (*udāse*). The qualification of the *upamāna* is *kanakataṅkapiśaṅgyā damṣṭryā bhuvah maṇḍalam* (*udāse*). The qualifications show exact correspondences, from which further, minor *upamās* can be inferred, namely, between *lekhā* and *damṣṭrī*, and *samtataṃ timiram* and *bhuvah maṇḍalam*.

Stanza 9.23

Then, lightening up the sky by streams of rays, the cold-rayed one (i.e., the moon), yellowish like a breast coloured with saffron, has slowly emerged from the eastern ocean, as if from a golden jar.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *dīpayan*

Atha (means) *udayānantaram* 'immediately after rising.'

Kirāṇaughaiḥ (means) *kucaḥ* 'breast.' (*Gaura* means) *aruṇa* yellow-reddish.

(In the sense of) *kunkumena aruṇaḥ yaḥ payodharaḥ tadvat gauraḥ* 'yellow-reddish like a breast, which is yellowish due to saffron' (sg. nom. masc.), (we derive *kunkumāruṇapayodharagauraḥ*). (The poet) means to say, because of the colour of the moon rise.

Tuhināṁśuḥ (means) *induḥ* 'the moon' (sg. nom.).

Śanakaiḥ.

Pūrvapayodheḥ (means) *pūrvasāgarāt* 'from the eastern ocean.'¹²³

(In the sense of) *hemnaḥ kumbhaḥ* 'a jar of gold' (sg. nom.), (we derive *hemakumbhaḥ*).¹²⁴

Iva.

Unmamajja (means) *ujjagāma* 'has come up.'

This is *utprekṣā*.¹²⁵

Note (23)

Śabdālaṁkāra : b, 3 x r. Pāda b consists of one cp.

Arthālaṁkāra : (1) *Utprekṣā*, (2) *upamā* and (3) *saṁsṛṣṭi*. The poet fancies, that the ocean is a golden jar. The rising moon is likened to a woman's breast coloured with saffron. The two *alaṁkāras* are mutually independent. Therefore, *saṁsṛṣṭi* results, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 559-560.

From Bhāravi's reference to a saffron-coloured breast, it may be inferred, that in his time at least some women did not cover their breasts. The custom was noted by Europeans in South India many centuries later. See W. Crooke, *Things Indian*. London 1906. First Indian Reprint 1972, Munshiram Manoharlal : Delhi, p. 159 For a woman's way of dressing and use of paste in early days see S. N. Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*. Atma Ram & Sons : Delhi 1967, p. 212 and 224.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* 24.240-241 (ed. M. Ghosh, Vol. I, Calcutta 1967) prohibits wearing a single (lower) garment only (*ekavastrā*) for a heroine of the *uttama* or *madhyama* class, but allows it for women actors of the *adhama* 'low' class.

Stanza 9.24

People looked at the night with the rising moon, the darkness of which had not been completely removed to their heart's content, like (they look) at a newly wed woman, whose face is unveiled, and therefore, clearly visible, looking very cross out of shame.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *udgatendum*

Lokaḥ (means) *janaḥ* 'the people' (sg. nom.). [Quote from *Amara*]

Udgatendum (means) *uditacandrām* 'having a risen moon' (sg. acc. fem.).

Avibhinnatamisrām (means) *aniḥśeṣitadhvāntām* 'possessing a darkness, which was not completely removed.' (sg. acc. fem.).

Rajanīm.

(*Vyaṁśuka* means) *apanītāvaguṇṭhana* 'having a veil, which had been removed.'

(*Sphuṭa* means) *drśyamāṇa* 'visible.' (In the sense of) *vyāṁśukam ata eva*¹²⁶ *sphuṭam mukham yasyāḥ sā* 'she whose face was without veil and therefore clearly visible' (sg. acc. fem.), (we derive *vyāṁśukasphuṭamukhīm*).¹²⁷

Vrīḍayā.

Atijihmām (means) *vakrām* 'cross' (sg. acc. fem.).

Navavadhūm (means) *navoḍhām* 'a newly married woman' (sg. acc.). [Quote from *Dharaṇi*]¹²⁸

Sriyam iva.

Avitṛptaḥ (sc.) *san.*¹²⁹

Paśyati sma.

Note (24)

Śabdālaṁkāra : ab, 3 x m, 4 x t ; cd, 3 x m ; d, 3 x v. Pāda a consists of two cps.

Arthālaṁkāra : *Upamā*. The *upameya* is *rajanī*, the night. The *upamāna* is *navavadhū*, the newly wed woman, who looks cross because of unveiling. The *upameya* is qualified by (1) *udaga-candrā*, and (2) *avibhinnatamisrā*. The *upamāna* is qualified by (1) *vyāṁśuka-sphuṭamukhī*, and (2) *vrīḍayā atijihmā*. From the qualifications noted under (1) the stock *upamā* between *candra* and *mukha* can be inferred. A meaning correspondence between the qualifications noted under (2) may also be construed.

Stanza 9.25

By the one possessing a cold luster (i.e., the moon), the sky had not been brought to a fitting clearness, the darkness had not been dispelled from the mountains and the forests, and its splendour had not spread in the quarters of the sky, (still, by the moon) the night had been definitely provided with an ornament.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *na*

Himabhāsā (means) *candreṇa*.

Dyaugh (means) *ākāśam* 'the sky' (sg. nom.).

Ucitam (means) *yogyam* 'fitting' (sg. acc. masc.).¹³⁰

Prasādam na gamitā.

(In the sense of) *adrayo vanāni tebhyoḥ* 'mountains and forests,' (pl. abl.),
(we derive *adrivanebhyaḥ*).

Timiram.

Noddhṛtam (means) *notsāritam* 'not been dispelled' (sg. nom. ntr.).

(In the sense of) *disām mukheṣu* 'in the quarters of the sky', (we derive
diṇmukheṣu).

Dhāma (means) *tejas* 'splendour' (sg. nom.).

Ca.

Na vikīṇam (means) *na paryastam* 'has not been spread' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Still,

Rajanī bhūṣitā eva. (The poet) means to say, given the non-effectuation of
the qualities mentioned.

In this (stanza), there is the *vibhāvanā-alamkāra* due to the statement of
adornment as its effect, although there is no (statement of a) cause of embellish-
ment (of the night).¹³¹

Note (25)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 4 x m, 4 x t.

Arthālamkāra : *Vibhāvanā*. Three negations of causes of adornment of the
night are stated, *na dyaug prasādam gamitā*, *na timiram adrivanebhyaḥ uddhṛtam*,
na ca diṇmukheṣu dhāma vikīṇam. Still, embellishment is there, namely, by the
mere presence of the moon.

Stanza 9.26

The cool-rayed one (i.e., the moon) having risen, taking in the glances of the
proud women, clouded with hot tears, (and therefore) feeling somewhat afraid, as
it were rose in the sky rather slowly.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *mānini*

Uditaḥ śitamayūkhaḥ.

(*Uṣṇa* means) *virahatapta* 'heated because of separation (from their lov-
ers).'

(*Kaluṣa* means) *āvila* 'turbid.' (In the sense of) *uṣṇena bāṣpeṇa kaluṣān*
'turbid with hot tears' (pl. acc. masc.), (we derive *uṣṇabāṣpakaluṣān*).

Māninījanasya (means) *kalahāntaritanāyikājanasya* of the heroins separated (from their lovers) because of a quarrel.¹³²

Vilocanapātān (The poet) means to say, frightening because of anger brought about by humiliation. In the *Daśarūpaka* it says *kopāt kāntam parānudya paścāt tāpasamanvitā kalahāntaritā* 'after having repulsed her lover out of anger, (but) later on repenting, (this is the *nāyikā* called) *kalahāntaritā*.'¹³³

Pratigṛhṇan (means) *svīkurvan* 'accepting' (sg. nom. masc.). (The poet) means to say, because the glances cannot be avoided. Therefore,¹³⁴

Bhītabhītaḥ (means) *bhītaprakāraḥ* 'being afraid to a high degree' (sg. nom. masc.).¹³⁵

Iva. This is *utprekṣā*.¹³⁶

Mandamandam (means) *mandaparakāram* 'in such a way, that there was a (high) degree of being slow.'¹³⁷ In both cases, given doubling by P. 8.1.12, there is deletion of the case ending¹³⁸ (after the first word) on account of treatment like a *kdh. cp.*¹³⁹

Kham (means) *ākāśam* 'the sky' (sg. acc.).

Prayayau.

Note (26)

Śabdālaṃkāra: a, 5 x n; c, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *mandamandam*; d, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *bhītabhītaḥ*. Pāda a consists of one cp.

Arthālaṃkāra: *Utprekṣā*, as noted by Mall. The poet fancies, that the slow rise of the moon is due to fear for the tearful glances of the women, who quarreled with their lovers and therefore feel separated from them. But since the poet describes the action of the moon, which is the *prastuta* item, in such a way, that we are reminded of the corresponding action of a lover, or of lovers, who is or are the *aprastuta* item, one may think of another *alaṃkāra* also, namely, *samāsokti*, for which see Note (5). This being so, between two *alaṃkāras* an *āṅgāṅgibhāva* holds, the *utprekṣā* functioning as the *āṅga*. The result is *saṅkara*.

Stanza 9.27

Of the cold-rayed one (i.e., the moon), which came near to the stars / which embraced his loved wives round the neck, a yellow-reddish luster spreading all around has shone like *aṅgarāga*.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *śliṣyataḥ*

(*Tata* means) *prasārita* 'stretched out.' (*Kara*) means (both 'hand' and) *aṃśuka* 'ray.'

(In the sense of *tatāḥ karāḥ eva karāḥ yena tasya* 'by whom the hands, which were nothing but rays had been stretched out, (sg. gen. masc.), (we derive *tatakarasya*).

(*Tārakāḥ priyavadhūḥ* means) *tārakāḥ eva priyavadhūḥ* 'the loved wives, who were nothing but stars' (pl. nom.).

Apakaṇṭham (means) *antike* 'near' or *kaṇṭhe* 'on the neck.'¹⁴⁰ The acc. case ending (is used) in the sense of uninterrupted connection.¹⁴¹ (This is) an *avyayībhāva* cp. in the sense of a case ending.¹⁴²

Śliṣyataḥ (means) *pratyāsīdataḥ* 'of one going near' and *ālingataḥ* 'of one embracing' (sg. gen. masc.).¹⁴³

Himāmśoḥ (sc.) *sambandhī* 'connected with the moon' (sg. nom. masc.).¹⁴⁴

Samantāt.

Udvaman (means) *utsarpan* 'spreading' (sg. nom. masc.). (*Vam -*) has the status of an intransitive verbal base (here) it has a different meaning. On account of the statement *dhātor arthāntare vṛtteḥ* 'because of the verbal base is used in a different meaning.'¹⁴⁵

Lohitarāgaḥ (means) *aruṇaprabhaḥ* 'a yellow-reddish lustre' (sg. nom.).

Aṅgarāgaḥ iva abhīrarāje.¹⁴⁶ It is wellknown, that a red colour develops on account of embracing.

In this (stanza), there is *saṅkara* due to the *aṅgāṅgibhāva* of *rūpaka* and *upamā*.

Note (27)

Śabdālaṅkāra : ab, 3 x t, 3 x r, 3 x k ; cd, 4 x r.

Arthālaṅkāra : (1) *Rūpaka*, (2) *upamā* and (3) *saṅkara*. The *rūpaka* in the cp. *tatakara* is of the *śliṣṭarūpaka* type, for which see *MGhK*, Canto VI, n. 244. The *KP* deals with this type as *paramparitām śliṣṭam rūpakam* on p. 600, ff. The idea is that one *rūpaka* becomes the cause of another one. In the case of *tatakara* the component *kara* is used in two meanings. That leads to another *rūpaka*, namely, *priyavadhūn tarakāḥ*, where two different words are used, so no *śleṣa*. Further, in *upakaṇṭham śleṣa* is applied again. In the *tatakara śliṣṭarūpaka* the *prastuta* item are the rays on which the idea of hands is superimposed. Similarly, in *priyavadhūḥ tarakāḥ* the stars are presented as loved wives of the moon. In the *upamā* the yellow-reddish shine of the moon is likened to a cosmetic substance. Since this is an assisting factor in bringing about the *rūpaka*, it functions as the *aṅga* in the *aṅgāṅgibhāva*. The result is *saṅkara*, for which see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561.

Stanza 9.28

The stream of rays spread all around by the bearer of hare mark (i.e., the moon) has driven away the darkness, dense though it may be, like the milk-ocean, broken by the Mandara mountain, drove away¹⁴⁷ the forests with their dense and tall trees.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *preritaḥ*

Śaśadhareṇa (means) *candreṇa* 'by the moon.'

Preritaḥ (means) *viśṣṭaḥ* 'spread around' (sg. nom. masc.).

Karaughah.

Samhitāni (means) *sāndrāṇi* 'dense' (pl. acc. ntr.).

Tamāṁsi.

(*Mandara* means) *mandarācala* 'the Mandara mountain.' (In the sense of) *mandareṇa bhinnah* broken by the Mandara mountain (sg. nom. masc.) (we derive *mandarabhinnah*).¹⁴⁸

Kṣīrasindhuh.

(*Avirala* means) *sāndra* 'dense' (*Ucca* means) *unnata* 'tall.' (In the sense of) *aviralāḥ uccāḥ ca taravo yeṣu tāni* 'in which there were dense and tall trees,' pl. acc. ntr., (we derive *aviraloccatarūṇi*).¹⁴⁹

Kānakāni iva.

Nunoda (means) *dūrīcakāra* 'has driven away.'

Note (28)

Śabdālaṁkāra : a, 3 x r ; ab, 3 x t ; cd, 4 x r.

Arthālaṁkāra : *Upamā*. The *upameya* is *karaughah*, the stream of moon rays. The *upamāna* is the *kṣīrasindhuh*, the milk-ocean. The qualifications of the *upameya* are (1) *śaśadhareṇa preritaḥ*, and (2) *samhitāni tamāṁsi nunoda*. The qualifications of the *upamāna* are (1) *mandareṇa vibhinnah*, and (2) *aviraloccatarūṇi kānakāni nunoda*. From the correspondences in (1) and (2) further, minor *upamās* may be inferred, namely, between the moon and Mandara mountain, and between the dense darkness and the forests with dense trees. The structural balance of the stanza is striking.

Stanza 9.29

By the shadow of the trees, which had become variegated due to the foot-steps of the hare-containing one (i.e., the moon) similarity has been reached with floors of dwellings the surfaces of which had become speckled due to white presents which had been thrown down.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *śāratām*

śaśipadaiḥ (means) *candraraśmibhiḥ* 'by the rays of the moon.' [Quote from *Amara*]

Śāratām (means) *śabalatām* 'variegated-ness' (sg. acc.).

Gamitayā.¹⁵⁰ [Quote from *Viśva*]

Viṭapinām (means) *tarūṇām* 'of the trees.'

Chāyayā.

(*Nyasta* means) *nikṣipta* 'thrown down' (*Śuklabali* means) *śvetapuṣpādyupahāra* 'a present in the form of white flowers, etc.' (*Tala* means) *uparibhāga* 'surface.' (In the sense of) *nyastaiḥ śuklabalibhiḥ citrāṇi talāni yāsām tābhiḥ* 'whose surfaces were speckled by means of white presents which had been thrown down' pl. instr. fem. (we derive *nyastaśuklabalicitratalābhiḥ*). [Quote from *Amara*]¹⁵¹

Vasativeśmamahībhiḥ (means) *nivāsagrhabhūmibhiḥ* floors of dwellings (pl. instr.).

Tulyatā (means) *sāmyam* 'similarity' (sg. acc.).

Pratipede (means) *prāptā* 'has been reached.' The pf. ending has been added in the passive sense.¹⁵² This is *ārthī upamā*.¹⁵³

Note (29)

Śabdālaṃkāra : ab, 3 x t, 3 x y. *Pada* c consists of one cp.

Arthālaṃkāra : *Upamā*. The *upameya* is *chāyā*, the shade. The *upamāna* is *vasativeśmabhūmayāḥ*. The qualification of the *upameya* is *śaśipadaiḥ śāratām gamitayā*. It corresponds with the qualification of the *upamāna*, namely, *nyastaśuklabalicitratalāḥ*. A minor *upamā* between the rays of the moon and the white presents may be inferred.

Stanza 9.30

By the male *cakravāka* duck experiencing invariable separation (from the female) by night, content, when being together with his wife even during the sun heat, the rays of the cold-rayed one (i.e., the moon) could not be tolerated. When the mind is troubled, everything becomes unbearable.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ātape*

Ātape. (The poet) means to say, even though this (heat) is troublesome.

Vadhvā (means) *cakravākyā saha* 'together with the female *cakravāka* duck.'¹⁵⁴

Therefore,¹⁵⁵

Dhṛtimatā (means) *saṃtoṣavatā* 'content' (sg. instr. masc.).

(*Virahin*) means *niyataviraha* ‘having an invariable separation.’ (In the sense of) *yāminīṣu virahiṇā* ‘by the one experiencing invariable separation’, (we derive *yāminīvirahiṇā*). Therefore,

Vihagena (means) *cakravākeṇa* ‘by the male *cakravāka* duck.’

Himaraśmeḥ (means) *candrasya* ‘of the moon.’

Kiraṇāḥ na sevire.

To expalin,¹⁵⁶

Duḥkhite (means) *saṃjātaduḥkhe* ‘affiliated by distress’ (sg. loc. ntr.)

Manasi sarvam. (The poet) means to say, even though it is delightful.

Asahyam (means) *soḍhum aśakyam* ‘what can not be borne with’ (sg. nom. ntr.). The suffix *yaT* (has been added) by P. 3.1.99.

But earlier (commentators) have read *ātapāḥ* (instead of *ātape*). In that case, (we have no construe) *vadhvā saha ātapāḥ* when accompanied by his wife even the occurrences of heat have been endured. But by the one separated from her even the moon rays could not be endured. In this way, we have to construe. But the result is the same.¹⁵⁷

Note (30)

Śabdālaṃkāra : a, 3 x *t* ; c, 3 x *r* ; d, 3 x *m*.

Arthālaṃkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*. A general truth is corroborated by a particular instance. A troubled mind is not happy even in ideal circumstances. That is proved by the unhappy feelings of the male *cakravāka* duck even in the cool moon-shine, when separated from his female at night.

Stanza 9.31

Carrying drops of water, dispersing the fragrance of blossoming flowers in such a way that their pollen was lifted up, the cool night wind has caused the tracks of forest trees in which everywhere the birds had gone to sleep to shake slightly.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *gandham*

Apāṃ kaṇavāhī. Given an acceptable construction of words, even intervention must be tolerated.¹⁵⁸

Gandham (means) *saurabham* ‘fragrance’ (sg. acc.).

(*Rajaḥ* means) *parāga* ‘pollen.’ (In the sense of) *uddhatam rajaḥ yasmin karmaṇi tad yathā tathā* ‘in such a way that the pollen had been lifted up’ (we derive *uddhatarajaḥ*),¹⁵⁹ (The suffix) *kaP* (has) not (been added) because of option by P. 5.4.154.¹⁶⁰

Vikṣīpan (means) *vikaran* 'dispersing' (sg. nom. masc.).

Similarly,¹⁶¹

Śīśīraḥ (means) *surabhiḥ* 'pleasant' (sg. nom. masc.).¹⁶²

Yāminīmarut (means) *rātrivāyuḥ* 'the night wind' (sg. nom.).

(*Līna* means) *śayita* 'gone to sleep.' (In the sense of) *paritaḥ līnāḥ vihaṅgāḥ yāsu tāḥ*

in which the birds had gone to sleep, pl. nom. fem., (we derive *parilīnavihaṅgāḥ*).

Vanarājīḥ.

Ādudhāva (means) *iṣat kampayām āsa* 'has caused to shake slightly.' That is to say, the tracks of forest trees shook a little without disturbing the sleep of the birds. [Quote from *Amara*]¹⁶³ (Th poet) means to say, like someone attracts to himself his beloved woman sprinkling her with perfumed water, etc., in that way.

Note (31)

Śabdālaṃkāra : ab, 3 x k, 3 x m ; cd, 3 x r, 3 x n.

Arthālaṃkāra : None directly. Implied is the comparison of the night breeze and the forest trees with a *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* respectively.

Stanza 9.32

By the night like a loved woman, in order to perform the anointing of Manmatha, the moon, in which rays like a water stream were shining (and), whose spots were clearly visible, was raised high like a silver jar decorated with lotus flowers.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *saṃvidhātum*

(In the sense of) *yāminī vanitā iva tayā* 'the night like a loved woman,' sg. instr. fem., (we derive *yāminīvanītayā*, which means) *rātrirūpayā kāntayā* 'by a loved woman in the form of the night.'

Manmathasya.

Abhiṣekam (means) *tribhuvanajaitrayātrābhiṣekam* 'the anointing for an expedition to conquer the three worlds' (sg. acc.).

Samvidhātum (means) *samyakkartum* 'in order to perform correctly.'

(*Oghaḥ* means) *pūraḥ* 'stream.' (In the sense of) *aśavaḥ jalāni iva teṣām* sg. nom. masc., (we derive *lasadamaśujalaughāḥ*).

Tatahcihnaḥ (means) *sphuṭalāñchanaḥ* 'having clearly visible spots' (sg. nom. masc.).

Induḥ sotpalaḥ rajatakumbhaḥ iva.

Udāse (means) *utkṣiptaḥ* 'had been raised high.' The pf. ending (is added) after (the verbal base quoted as) *asyati* 'to throw' in the passive sense.¹⁶⁴

In this (stanza) there is *saṅkara* of *upamā* and *utprekṣā* brought to life¹⁶⁵ by the *utprekṣā* understood¹⁶⁶ through (the suffix) *tumUN* in *saṁvidhātum*.¹⁶⁷

Note (32)

Śabdālaṁkāra : ab, 3 x *m* ; cd, 4 x *t*.

Arthālaṁkāra : (1) *Upamā*, (2) *utprekṣā* and (3) *saṅkara*. *Upamā* we find in (1) *yāminīvanitā*, *aṁśujalaughāḥ* and in *rajatakumbha iva*. The *utprekṣā* is stated as *abhiṣekaṁ saṁvidhātum*. Here *iva* is not used. The simple explanation of *saṅkara* is to assume *aṅgāṅgibhāva* between the *upamās*, on the one hand, as the *aṅga*, and the *utprekṣā* on the other. But Mall. does not base the *saṅkara* on *aṅgāṅgibhāva*, but says that the *saṅkara* is supported by an *utprekṣā* conveyed by a *tumUN* form. What kind of *saṅkara*-construction he had in mind is not clear.

Stanza 9.33

The glory of victory certainly does not approach a man even if he is full of strength, when he is without a companion. Because Anaṅga (i.e. the god of love), even though he is strong, has taken up his victorious bow (only) as the friend of the rays of the hare-containing one (i.e. the moon).

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ojasā*

Ojasā.

Anūnam (means) *saṁpūrṇam* 'complete' (sg. acc. masc.).

Api.

Asahāyam (means) *sahāyarahitam* 'without companion' (sg. acc. masc.). Supply *puruṣam* 'a man' (sg. acc.).

Jayaśrīr nopayāti khalu nūnam. Why ?

Yad (means) *yasmāt* 'because.'

Vibhuḥ (means) *samartho'pi* 'even being strong' (sg. nom. masc.).

Anaṅgaḥ.

(*Sakhi* means) *sahacara* 'companion.' (In the sense of) *śaśimayūkhānām sakhā* 'friend of the rays of the hare-containing one' (we derive) the form as stated.¹⁶⁸ That is to say, provided with companions, adjectival function.¹⁶⁹

Vijayi (means) *vijayaśīlam* 'being accustomed to conquer' (sg. acc. ntr.). The suffix *inI* (has been added) by P. 3.2.157.¹⁷⁰

Cāpam ādade.

In this (stanza) there is *arthāntaranyāsa* in the form of a corroboration of a general

truth by a particular instance.

Note (33)

Śabdālamkāra : a, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *nūnam anūnam* ; b, 3 x y.

Arthālamkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*. The general truth is that everybody needs help. That is seen in the particular instance of Anaṅga needing the help of the moon's rays. Why not the other way round ? Presumably, the clue is taken from the fact that the general truth has been stated first in the stanza.

Introduction to 9.34

After having thus portrayed the totality of simulating factors,¹⁷¹ (the poet) now undertakes to describe the love-making which is the effect of those (factors).

Stanza 9.34

By the wives of the gods whose feast of love-making had come near, although they (already) had applied beauty, decoration of their pleasure apartments has been desired (again); although they had (already) received news of their lovers, (still) the activity of a (female) go-between (has been desired) (and) although they had put on ornaments (already), ornaments (have been desired again).

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *sadmanām*

Samnikṣṭaratibhiḥ (means) *āsannasuratotsavaiḥ* 'whose feast of love-making had come near' (pl. instr. masc.).¹⁷² Therefore,¹⁷³

Suradāraiḥ (means) *suravadhūbhiḥ* 'by the wives of the gods.'¹⁷⁴

Āhitaśobhaiḥ (means) *prāg eva vihitakeligṛhamāṇanair api* 'although having decorations of their pleasure apartments applied already before' (pl. instr. masc.). Again,

Sadmanām (means) *keligṛhāṇām* 'of the pleasure apartments.'

Viracanā (means) *maṇḍanam* 'decoration' (sg. nom.).

Īṣe. (means) *abhileṣe* 'was wished for'. The pf. ending (has been added) in the passive sense.¹⁷⁵

Āgatapriyakathaiḥ (means) *prāptapriyajanaṛttāntaiḥ* 'having news of their lovers which had (already) reached' (pl. instr. masc.).

Apt.

(In the sense of) *dūtasya karma* 'the profession of a messenger' (we derive)

dūtyam (this is) *dūtīvyāpāra* the business of a female go-between.¹⁷⁶

Īṣe.¹⁷⁷ The suffix *yaT* (has been added after the word *dūta*) in the sense of *bhāva* 'status' or *karman* 'action / profession' of a *dūta*.¹⁷⁸

Similarly,

Bhūṣitair api.

Vibhūṣaṇam (means) *prasādhanam* 'ornament' (sg. nom.).

Īṣe.¹⁷⁹ (The poet) means to say, because of excessive eagerness.

Note (34)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x 3 ; c, 3 x n.

Arthālamkāra : None.

Stanza 9.35

In separation (from the lovers) garlands, sandalwood paste and liquor did not please the lovely women. Because union with their lovers only lends delight to the means of enjoying love.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *na*

Virahe (means) *viyogāvasthāyām* 'in the condition of separation.'¹⁸⁰

Srajaḥ (means) *mālyāni* 'garlands' (pl. nom.).

Candanāni (means) *gandhāni* 'perfumed substances.' (pl. nom.).

Madirā (means) *madyāni* 'liquor' (sg. nom.).

Vā.

Ramaṇībhyaḥ. The dative ending (has been added) because (*ramaṇi*) has the status of *sampradāna* by P. 1.4.33.¹⁸¹

Na rurucire (means) *na rocanta sma* 'they have not pleased.'

Hī (means) *yasmāt* 'because.'

Priyasamāgame eva rateḥ.

Sādhaneṣu (means) *sragādiṣu* 'in garlands, etc.'

Ramyatām (means) *manoharatvam* 'delightfulness' (sg. acc.). That is to say, *ruciratvam* 'pleasantness.'

Upadhatte (means) *ādhatte* 'takes on.' That is to say, displeasure only is appropriate when they (the lovers) are not there. Therefore, there is *arthāntaranyāsa* in the form of corroboration of an effect by means of the cause on account of (having been phrased in) the negative way.¹⁸²

(In the sense of) *ramayante eṣu* 'they find pleasure in those' (we derive)

ramyāṇi. The suffix *yaT* (has been added) by P. 3.1.98.¹⁸³ The sense of *adhikarana* (in *eṣu*) is by P. 3.3.113.¹⁸⁴

Note (35)

Śabdālaṃkāra : a, 4 x r ; cd, 3 x r.

Arthālaṃkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*. It takes the form of a negative cause - effect relation. If the cause is not there, the effect is not either.

Stanza 9.36

By the proud women who had thrown to the winds the advice of their friends and had gone to the house of their lovers passion, which lowers self-control had been surrendered to, although it caused them to demean themselves.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *prasthitābhiḥ*

Adhināthanivāsam (means) *priyagrhaṃ prati* 'towards the house of their lovers.'

Prasthitābhiḥ (means) *pracalitābhiḥ* 'by the ones who had proceeded' (pl. instr.fem.).

(*Dhvaṃsita* means) *khaṇḍita* 'broken.' (*Vacanāni* means) *svayaṃ prasthānaṃ lāghavāya ityevamrūpāṇi* '(advice) like to proceed of your own leads to disrespect.'

(In the sense of) *dhvaṃsitāni priyasakhīvacanāni yābhis tābhiḥ* 'by whom the advice of their dear friends had been disregarded,' pl. instr. fem., (we derive *dhvaṃsitapriyasakhīvacanābhiḥ*).

Māninībhiḥ (means) *kopānābhiḥ* 'by the angry woman.' On account of the definition

strīṇāṃ irṣyakṛtaḥ kopo māno nyāsaṅgini priye kopa (means) 'anger caused by

jealousy with regard to a lover who became attached to another woman.'¹⁸⁵

(*Apahasita* means) *nirasta* 'thrown away.' (In the sense of) *apahasitaṃ dhairyaṃ*

yena saḥ 'by which self-control has been thrown away,' sg. nom. masc., (we derive *apahasitadhairyaḥ*).

Accordingly,

Sādayan (means) *mānaṃ śarīraṃ ca karṣayan* 'dragging down self-esteem and body.'

Api. That is to say, although it is a deficiency.

Madah.

Avalalambhe (means) *svīkṛtaḥ* 'has been accepted.'¹⁸⁶ (The poet) means to say that it is easy to hide disrespect under the disguise of ignoring it.

Note (36)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x n.

Pada b consists of one cp.

Arthālamkāra : None.

Stanza 9.37

By the lovely women who were exchanging a great deal of information with a view to the enjoyment of sex the house of their lovers was reached. Of ones whose mind has been confused by Manmatha (i.e., the god of love) often a stumbling becomes helpful.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *kānta*

Rataye (means) *suratāya* 'with a view to enjoyment of sex.'

Bahu saṁdiśatībhiḥ (means) *anekaṁ vācikaṁ kathayantībhiḥ* 'by the ones who were telling several items of news' (pl. instr. fem.). That is to say, by ones who do not know even whether they should go (or not) on account of bad luck with messages.

Ramaṇībhiḥ.

Kāntaveśma.

Yātam (means) *prāptam eva* 'has definitely been reached' (sg. nom. ntr.). That is to say, not, however, halfway returned.

To expalin,¹⁸⁷

Manmathena pariluptamatīnām.

Skhalitam (means) *viruddhācaraṇam* 'on becoming behaviour' (sg. nom.).

Api prāyaśaḥ.

Upakāri (sc.) *bhavati* 'becomes.'

Note (37)

Śabdālamkāra : cd, 3 x m.

Arthālamkāra : *Arthāntaranyāsa*. It takes the form of the corroboration of a particular instance by a general truth. The particular instance is women setting out for their lovers' houses without having received a message. This is mistaken behaviour, stumbling. The general truth is that women besotted by love usually reach their aim.

Stanza 9.38

The face of a woman going to her lover in a hurry, cheeks covered with horripilation, with the arrangement of the lines of leaf-decoration and of the *tilaka* wiped off, has surpassed the full moon in beauty.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *āśu*

Āśu.

Kāntam.

Abhisāritavatyāḥ (means) *abhigatavatyāḥ* 'having approached' (pl. nom. fem.). (The Causative suffix) *ṆiC* (has been added) in (the verbal bases) own meaning.¹⁸⁸

Yoṣitaḥ (sc.) *sambandhi* 'connected with' (sg. nom. ntr.)¹⁸⁹

(*Ruddha* means) *āvṛtta* 'covered.' (In the sense of) *pulakair ruddhau kapolau yasya tat* 'whose cheeks had been covered with horripilation,' (sg. nom. ntr.), (we derive

pulakaruddhakapolam).

(*Khaṇḍa* means) *pramṛṣṭa* 'wiped off.' (*Pattra* means) *pattralekha* 'line of a leaf-like decoration.' (*Ākṛti* means) *samīniveśa* 'arrangement.' (In the sense of) *khaṇḍā pattrāṇāṃ tilakasya ca ākṛtiḥ yasya tat* 'whose arrangement of the lines of the leaf-decoration and of the *tilaka* had been broken,' sg. nom. ntr., (we derive *khaṇḍapattratīlakākṛti*).

Mukham kāntyā.

Akhaṇḍam (means) *pūrṇam* 'full' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Indum.

Nirjigāya (means) *jayati sma* 'has surpassed.'¹⁹⁰

This is *ārthī upamā*.¹⁹¹ Because (*jī* - to conquer) is counted among meanings of *sādrśya* 'similarity' by Daṇḍin when saying *jayati dveṣṭi*.¹⁹²

Note (38)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x k ; c, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *mukha° ...makha°* ; cd, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa*

in *khaṇḍam khaṇḍa°*.

Arthālamkāra : *Upamā* of the *ārthī* variety. The *upameya* is the face of the woman. The *upamāna* is the moon. The qualifications of the face are (1) *pulakaruddhakapolam* and (2) *khaṇḍapattratīlakākṛti*. The qualification of the moon is *akhaṇḍa*. Between qualification (2) of the *upameya* and the qualification of the *upamāna* a correspondence is possible. The comparison of a woman's face with the

moon is one of the stock examples of Sanskrit literary theory.

Introduction to 9.39

Now, by means of a pair of stanzas, (the poet) describes a conversation of a *nāyikā* with her friend.

Stanza 9.39

(*Nāyikā* :) To that (rascal) a reproach is to be addressed in its totality. (Friend :) O, friend, bluntness is no good with regard to your master. (*Nāyikā* :) After having reconciled him, bring him (to me). (Friend :) One who does unpleasant things, how does he deserve conciliatory words?

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *ucyatām*

In that (conversation) the *nāyikā* says :

Saḥ (means) *dhūrtaḥ* 'rascal' (sg. nom.).¹⁹³

Aśeṣam (means) *akhilam* 'complete' (sg. acc. ntr.).

Vacanīyam (means) *vaktavyam* 'reproach' (sg. acc.).

Ucyatām. That is to say, he is to be scolded without fear. The imp. ending (is used) in the passive sense to express the subordinate object, because (*brū* - to speak) belongs to the *duhādi*-group.¹⁹⁴

Then the friend says :

(*He*)¹⁹⁵ *sakhi*.

Īśvare (means) *bhartari* (that is) *nāyake viṣaye* 'with regard to your lord (that is)

the *nāyaka*.¹⁹⁶

Paruṣatā (means) *pāruṣyam* 'bluntness' (sg. nom.).

Na sādhvī (means) *na hitā* 'is not beneficial' (sg. nom. fem.).

Then the *nāyikā* says :

Enam.

Anunīya (means) *sāntvayitvā* 'after having conciliated.'

Ānaya.

The friend again says :

Vipriyāṇī janayan (means) *apriyāṇī kurvan* 'one who does disagreeable things.' (sg. nom. masc.).

(*Sa*)¹⁹⁷ *katham*.

Anuneyah (means) *anunayārhaḥ* 'worthy of being conciliated' (sg. nom. masc.).¹⁹⁸

Note (39)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x r ; c 4 x n.

Arthālamkāra : None.

Stanza 9.40

(*Nāyikā*) What is the use of going ? Because it is not appropriate to approach (him). (Friend) O you who think yourself to be lovely, what pride (is there) when the question is of a lover ? (End of conversation) By the lovers who had come near (to the women) a multi-flavoured satisfaction is felt with regard to such-like conversations of the women.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *kim*

The *nāyikā* speaks again: Then,

Gatena (kim) (means) *taṁ prati gamanena kim* 'what is the use of going to him?'¹⁹⁹

That is to say, what purpose (is served)?

Upaitum (means) *gantum* 'to go.'

Na yuktaṁ hi.

The friend again says :

(He)²⁰⁰ *subhagamānini* (means) *saundaryamānini* 'o you who think yourself as possessing loveliness' (sg. voc.), as in, one thinks oneself to be a lovely one. The suffix *NinI* (has been added) by P. 3.2.83 on account of (the mention of) *ca*.²⁰¹

(*Tasmin*)²⁰² *priye* (sc.) *viṣaye*.²⁰³

Kaḥ mānaḥ. That is to say, don't put on airs.

Or rather,²⁰⁴ the statement of the friend starts with *na hi*. In that case, *na hi* forms one sentence. That is to say, that (going) is appropriate, O friend. (Thus the construction is) he *sakhi kimtūpaitum yuktaṁ* 'O friend, to go, however, is appropriate.' Why? (That is stated as) *subhagamānini priye ko mānaḥ* 'O you who think yourself to be lovely, what pride (is there) when the question is of a lover?' (The poet) means to say, because it is difficult to get hold of such a person.

Iti (sametaiḥ) (means) *evamrūpāsu yoṣitām kathāsu viṣaye sametaiḥ* 'by the ones who had joined together (with the women) with regard to such-like conversations of the women.' That is to say, by the ones²⁰⁵ who were listening after having come near (to the women).²⁰⁶

Kāmbhiḥ.

Bahurasā (means) *anekarasā* 'having various flavours' (sg. nom. fem.).

Dhṛtiḥ (means) *saṁtoṣaḥ* 'satisfaction' (sg. nom.).

Ūhe (means) *ūḍhā* 'has been felt.'²⁰⁷

In this (stanza) by listening to the conversations of the loved women one after the another which are full of a variety of emotions like *rauṣya* 'harshness,' *autsukya* 'eager longing' and *nirveda* 'dejection' they²⁰⁸ found an abundance of blissfulness which consisted in an outflow of happiness of the heart never experienced before.

The *nāyikās* here are mostly the *prauḍhā* and the *kalahāntarītā* ones.²⁰⁹

Note (40)

Śabdālamkāra : b, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in ° *māni* ° *mānaḥ* ; cd, 3 x m.

Arthālamkāra : None.

Mall. proposes two different divisions of the first line of the stanza, as follows:

A (1) Statement of the *nāyikā* : *kiṁ gatena. Na hi yuktam upaitum* 'what is the point in going? Because to approach (a lover) is not appropriate.'

A (2) Statement of friend : *kaḥ priye subhagamānini mānaḥ* 'why show pride with regard to a lover? '

B (1) Statement of the *nāyikā* : *kiṁ gatena* 'what is the point in going?'

B (2) Statement of a friend: *na hi yuktam upaitum, kaḥ priye subhagamānini mānaḥ* 'No (don't say that). To approach (the lover) is appropriate. Why show pride with regard to a lover? '

In the translation division A has been followed.

Stanza 9.41

Of a woman issuing drops of sweat originating from her recent union (with her lover), (and) falling on the breast of lover the disorderly state of her ornaments has itself become an ornament.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *yoṣitaḥ*

Pulakarodhi (means) *romāñcavyāpi* 'pervaded by horripilation' (sg. acc. ntr.).

(In the sense of) *navasaṅgamena janma yasya tad* 'whose origination was due to the recent union (with her lover),' sg. acc. ntr., (we derive *navasaṅgamajanma*)

Gharmavāri (means) *svedodakam* 'drops of sweat.' (sg. acc.).

Dadhatyāḥ. In this way there is mention of *sāttvika* 'a physical manifestation of an emotion.'²¹⁰

Kāntavakṣi patatyāḥ. This is a description of eager longing.

Yoṣitāḥ.

(*Yā*)²¹¹ *lulitamaṇḍanatā* (means) *utsṛṣṭaprasāadhanatvam* 'the disorderly state of ornaments' (sg. nom.). (The suffix) *taL* (has been added) in the sense of *bhāva* 'state.'²¹²

(*Sā*)²¹³ *eva maṇḍanam babhūva*. (The poet) means to say, because of it²¹⁴ having such an effect.

Note (41)

Śabdālamkāra : d, *ṛtṭyanuprāsa* in *maṇḍanam maṇḍana*.

We note the extreme separation of the syntactically connected words *yoṣitāḥ* and *lulitamaṇḍanatā*. Compare n. 158.

Arthālamkāra: None.

Stanza 9.42

In the women befuddled by drinking rum (and) being united with their loved ones, was love perceived or was it drunkenness which in the ones who thought very much of themselves quickly took away anger (and) caused shyness to loosen up ?

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *śīdhu*

(In the sense of) *śerate anena* 'by that they go to sleep' (we derive *śīdhu* 'rum,'²¹⁵ that is) a kind of liquor produced from the juice of ripe sugarcane. (*Vidhura* means) *vimūḍha* 'befuddled.' (In the sense of) *śīdhu tasya pānena vidhurāsu* 'in the ones fuddled by drinking rum' (pl. nom. fem.). (we derive *śīdhupānavidhurāsu*).

Also,²¹⁶

Dayitaiḥ.

Samgatāsu (means) *svayaṁ prāptāsu* (*ca*)²¹⁷ 'and in the ones who had reached of their own will' (pl. loc. fem.).

Kāminīṣu atimānavatīṣu āśu.

Mānam (means) *kopam* 'anger' (sg. acc.).

Nigṛhṇan (means) *nivartayan* 'discarding' (sg. nom. masc.).

(In the sense of) *śīthilikṛtā lajjā yena saḥ* 'by which shyness had become loosened up,' sg. nom. masc., (we derive *śīthilikṛtalajjah*).

Madano nu mado nu.²¹⁸

Upalebhe. That is to say, has been perceived.²¹⁹

(In this stanza) there is *samdeha* 'doubt' because neither of the causes which

are union with the lovers and drinking rum is denied, and because in both cases the experience of discarding anger, etc., is shared.²²⁰ That (doubt) itself is an *alamkāra*.²²¹

Note (42)

Śabdālamkāra : d, *ṛṭṭyanuprāsa* in *madano nu mado nu*.

Arthālamkāra : (Sa) *saṁdeha*. Are the effects shown in the behaviour of the woman due to love-making or to a state of inebriety? No conclusive evidence in favour of one or the other is provided. Thus we remain in a state of suspense. That precisely is the (literary) beauty of it.

Stanza 9.43

Eyes (fixed) on the door, cheeks (resting) on her hand, her life depends on you, how can there be anger? In this way the message repeated again and again to please the lovers has become like new.

(Commentary on the stanza beginning with) *dvāri*

Dvāri (means) *tvadāgamanamārga eva* 'on the road along which you are expected to come only.'

Cakṣuḥ. In this way, there is a description of eager longing.

Adhipāṇi (means) *pāṇau* (that is) *kare* 'in the hand.'²²²

Kapolau. In this way, there is a description of anxiety.²²³ Why say more?

Jīvitam.

Tvayi (means) *tvadadhīnam* 'depending on you.' That is to say, without you she can not live. In this way, there is a description of deep love. Therefore,

Asyāḥ.

Kalahaḥ (means) *vigrahaḥ* 'quarrel' (sg. nom.).

Kutaḥ.

Iti (means) *ityevam* 'thus-like.'

Kāminām prītaye.

Punaruktam (means) *punaḥpunar ucyamānam* 'being spoken again and again' (sg. nom. ntr.).

Vacaḥ (means) *dūtīvākyaṁ* 'the message of the female go-between' (sg. nom.).²²⁴

Navanavatvam (means) *navaprakāratvam* 'a high degree of being new' (that is,) *apūrvavadbhāvam* 'the status of something the like of which has not been experiences before' (sg. acc.).

Iyāya.²²⁵ The repetition (in *navanava* is used) in the sense of *prakāra* 'a high degree.'²²⁶ *Luk*-deletion of case ending because of treatment like a *kdh.* cp.²²⁷ (The poet) means to say that because of the disclosure of love of the loved women the lovers are thrilled. (The woman described) here is the *ḥalahāntarītā* one.²²⁸

Note (43)

Śabdālamkāra : ab, 3 x k ; d, *ṛṭṭyanuprāsa* in *navanava*^o.

Arthālamkāra : None.

*The second part (B) of the article has been kept for a later Number. - Ed.

1) Shows the causal connection between qualifications.

2) The rule says, that *tumUN* is added after a verbal base, when depending on another verb, in the sense of wishing, provided, that the agents of the cations signified are the same.

3) This the first line of *kārikā* quoted by the *KV* on P. 6.1.1.144. Compare *MGhK*, Canto III, n. 410. The *kārikā* summarizes *Vts* I-IV on P. 6.1.144 plus the *Bhāṣyavārttika mamasī ca* on the same rule (*Mbh.* III, p. 95, line 7). The text of the commentary has to be emended as stated.

4) For *utprekṣā* see *MGhK*, pp. 535-538. In *phalotprekṣā* the poet fancies that x is the result of something, whereas in reality it is the result of something else.

5) No. 137 in Böhrtlingk's edition of the *svarādigaṇa*.

6) See *Ṛṭṭaratnākara* of *Kedārabhaṭṭa*. *NSP*: Bombay 1948, p. 57. A matter of eleven syllables per *pāda*, long-short-long, short-short-short, long-short-short, followed by two long ones.

7) According to the *Vaijayantī*, the word *upala* used in the fem. means *śarkarā*, and (when used) in the masc. it means *maṇi*.

8) Of the sky.

9) For the verbal periphrasis in *cyutim upeyuṣi* compare Renou, art. referred to, pp. 37-39.

10) In the case of the necklace of pearls.

11) *Tiryagvṛtti*.

12) By P.3.2.168. *Pibati* is a quotation form by *Vt.* II on P.3.3.108. *Pā-* is replaced by *piba-* by P. 7.3.78. *SaV* is added by P. 3.1.7.

13) Thus Mall. Makes it clear that *aṁśupāṇi* is an instance of *rūpakasamāsa*.

14) For *jan - ja* apply P. 3.2.97 and P. 6.4.143.

15) *Madhu* has two meanings, nectar and liquor. Here the latter meaning, which represents the *upamā*, is superimposed on the first, and is, therefore, *prakṛta*, the topic of description. The nectar which the sun is drinking is nothing but liquor. For *śliṣṭarūpaka* see *MGhK*, Canto VI, n. 244.

16) For the verbal periphrasis compare Renou, art. referred to, p. 38-39.

17) See n. 4.

18) Unidentified reference.

19) For *saṅkara* see *MGhK*, p. 560-561. *Āṅgāṅgibhāva* is typical of *saṅkara*.

20) The rule mentions *lohita* specifically. Lengthening of the final vowel by P. 7.4.25.

21) The rule says that after a denominative verbal base formed with *Kyaṣ* the *par.* endings are preferably added. Thus we derive *lohitā + Śap + ŚatR*. Then apply P. 6.1.97 twice to derive the form *lohitāyat*.

22) Causal connection is shown.

23) Verbal periphrasis in *gamyatām upagate*. See Renou, art. referred to, pp. 38-39.

24) Start from *virah + i + tvā*. Then replace *tvā* by *LyaP* (P. 7.1.37) and replace *i* by *ay*.

25) A poetical convention. The pairs of *cakravāka*, a kind of duck, separate at sunset and pass the night in solitude and mourning. They are the animal prototype of *nāyaka* and a *nāyikā* in a play, because they exemplify both *sambhogaśṛṅgāra* 'love in union' and *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra* 'love in separation,' which are the two varieties of the main *rasa* 'aesthetic mood' in Sanskrit dramaturgy.

26) Read *apakramānantaram* for *upakramānantaram*.

27) For *atiśayokti* see *MGhK*, p. 534-535.

28) As will be explained in the commentary, the stanza applies in two meanings, namely, the collection of sun rays and a group of servants.

29) In the case of the servants who are the topic understood.

30) For the prediction in *kāvya* for words signifying a mass or a quantity see Renou, art. referred to, p. 30

31) The alternative explanation holds both for the sun rays and the servants

32) The *prakṛta* item is the *raśmisamūha* 'multitude of rays.' But we understand reference to the *aprakṛta* item, the servants, also because the qualifiers *muktamūlalaghu*, etc. apply in two meanings.

33) The servants.

34) The non-sentient sun rays which are the directly expressed topic of the stanza are identified with the servants who are sentient beings and who are the topic understood.

35) *Samāsokti* and *utprekṣā*. For *samāsokti* see *MGhK*, pp. 562-563, for *utprekṣā* see n.4 above, and for *saṅkara* see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561.

36) *Yathā thatā* is the commentator's way of indicating an adverb.

37) Thus Mall. makes it clear that here *dadṛśire* conveys a passive meaning.

38) Read *eva* for *iva*, because the question is of *rūpaka*.

39) See n. 15.

40) The quote says that *asta* is the mountain range on the extreme border of the earth.

41) For (sa)*saṁdeha* see *MGhK*, pp. 561-562.

42) P. 3.4.16 prescribes *aN* for particular words only, among which *uṣas* does not figure. To have *aN* for *uṣas*, Mall. assumes *yogavibhāga* of the rule, so that we have P. 4.3.16 (a) *saṁdhivelā*, etc. and P. 4.3.16 (b) *aN*. Here the (b) rule becomes a general prescription for *aN* in the case of *kāla* indicating words (P. 3.4.11). Since *uṣas* comes under *kāla*, we can justify the addition of *aN*, and derive the form *auṣasa*. The *thaN̄*-derivation would have resulted in the form *auṣasika* by P. 7.3.50.

43) Shows the causal connection between the cp. constituents in question.

44) A verb of going construed with an abstract noun in the sense of becoming plus the corresponding adjective.

45) For *upamā* see *MGhK*, pp. 538-539.

46) Bij the spreading darkness.

47) Mall. Clarifies that *ūhe* is not used in the pass. sense which has the same form. *LIT* is Pāṇini's collective term for the pf. endings. They are added in the sense of past time, not of today and not witnessed by the speaker, P. 3.2.115. The 3rd sg. pres. is used as a quotation form by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108.

48) For *nidarśanā* see *MGhK*, p. 542-544. The *KP*, p. 613, defines it as *abhavan vastusambandha upamāparikalpakah* 'a non-existing connection between things which forms the idea of a simile.' Between the things poetically connected a *bimba-pratibimba* relation is assumed.

49) The cp. qualifies *jane*, which is a sg. form, but which has a pl. meaning (*jātyekavacana*, P. 1.2.58)

50) Reference is to *Vt.* XIV on P. 2.2.24. which reads *prāḍibhyo dhātujasya vā*. The phrase *uttarapadalopaś ca* is continued from *Vt.* XII. The earlier *Vt.* deals

bv. cp. formation of three words, of which the first two already form a *cp.* An example is *prapatitaparṇa* 'whose leaves have fallen.' Here the constituent *patita* is deleted. So also *bandha* in *prabaddhāñjali*. See *BDA*, p. 68.

51) This the *loc.* is explained as a *viśayasaptamī*, for which see *SK*, No. 633, on P. 2.3.36

52) *Ram* - takes *ātm.* endings. But when preceded by *vi* or *ā* the *par.* endings are added by the rule mentioned.

53) The *yuvādigāṇa* is mentioned in P. 5.1.130. Here *capala* figures as no. 26. Since the *taddhita* suffix *aN* is added, *ṽddhi* is applied by P. 7.2.117.

54) By itself *anuvidadhe* could have a passive sense also.

55) Changing into night.

56) Reference is first to P. 4.3.110 for the addition of *aN*, and then to P. 4.1.15 for the addition of *ÑP*.

57) Construction in *samānadharmoānuvidhānam* not clear.

58) The simile has not been directly expressed by a word like *iva*, but is left to be understood from the use of the verb *anuvidhā-*. The *samdhya* imitates the friendship of bad people, because it leads to darkness. Therefore twilight, which removes daylight, must be like that friendship.

59) For the derivation of *auśasa* see n. 42.

60) In fact, *hetu-utprekṣā*. See *MGhK*, p. 535-538.

61) Added to indicate the value of the *abl.* ending by P. 2.3.23.

62) *Mandammandam* is an *āmreḍita* 'word reduplication' in the sense of *prakāra* 'a type / high degree of' by P. 8.1.12. The *KV* here explains that the quality mentioned is an *aparipūrṇaguṇa* 'a non-complete quality,' that is, a qualified quality. The second, repeating quality word expresses *nyūnaguṇa* 'a diminished quality' in relation to the quality expressed by the first word.

63) For the peculiar form of the reduplication in *vyānaśe* apply P. 7.4.72.

64) See *MGhK*, p. 562-563. The *KP*, p. 611, defines *samāsokti* as *paroktir bhedakaḥ śliṣṭaiḥ* 'the statement of something else (than the *prastuta* item) through qualifiers which apply to more than one thing-meant.' The non-topic of description in the present case is a thief.

65) In the *aṅgāṅgibhāva* assumed between the *utprekṣā* and the *samāsokti*, which results in the further *alamkāra* of *saṅkara*. See *MGhK*, p. 560-561.

66A) verb of going construed with an abstract noun in the sense of becoming plus the corresponding adjective.

67) For *utprekṣā* see *MGhK*, p. 535-538.

68) Thus, Mall. explains that *upalebhe* has a passive sense.

69) Both are *hetu-utprekṣā*.

70) For *saṅkara* and *aṅgāṅgibhāva* see *MGhK*, p. 560-561.

71) The 3rd person pres. is used as the quotation form, by *Vt. II* on P. 3.3.108.

72) Reference is to the *kṛt* suffix *Nini* prescribed by P. 3.3.170.

73) Reference is to the *taddhita* suffix *ini* prescribed by P. 5.2.115. The suffix has the sense of *matUP* (P. 5.2.94). The sense of *nindā* is mentioned in a *kārikā*, see *Mbh.* II, p. 393, line 15. One example quoted for this sense is *kakudāvartī* (a horse) having a kind of curl on the coat. Thus, according to Mall., *virahin* may be interpreted to mean possessing separation which is a bad thing.

74) The *cakravāka* is the ruddy shell drake. See n. 25

75) Read *aviyogam* for *viyogam* in the text. The double negation (*aviyogam na āpuḥ*) explains the force of *eva* as a strong affirmation.

76) Indicative of *arthāntaranyāsa*, for which see *MGhK*, p. 535. The *KP*, p. 661, defines the *alaṃkāra* as *sāmānyam vā viśeṣo vā tadanyena samarthayate yatra.. sādharmyeṇetareṇa vā* 'where a general truth or a particular instance is corroborated one by other, according to a shared property, or the opposite.'

77) The male bird can only speak, but cannot be united with the female bird.

78) The substitution is conditioned by *śīti* if a *sārvadhātuka* suffix follows immediately (after the verbal base) continued from P. 7.3.75.

79) For *sma* see P. 3.3.118.

80) See *KĀRA*, p. 208. The *Ślokaṅk.* says that in the case of a verb which takes two objects the *IA-* suffixes denote the main object. That is to say, the main object is passivised. In our case, the main object is *pañkajam*, a ntr. Form, which therefore appears in the nom. The *apradhāna* object is *natim*, which appears in the acc. The corresponding active phrasing of the stanza reads *amburuhinī pañkajam mukham iva natim nayati*.

81) For what in reality is not a cause.

82) *Post quod propter quod*.

83) For *mukhopameyam* read *mukhopamayā*.

84) For *saṅkara* see *MGhK*, pp. 560-561.

85) The *utprekṣā* is *gamyā* 'to be understood,' and not directly expressed, because *iva* has not been used.

86) Why *nāmita*, and not *namita*? Mall.'s explanation is that the option word *vā* is continued in P. 6.4.92 from P. 6.4.91, and that *vā* here is to be interpreted in the sense of *vyavasthitavibhāṣā*, a limited option. Therefore, in some cases shortening is applied, and in other cases it is not. In fact, *vā* from P. 6.4.91 is not continued. See AP IX, p. 261. Therefore, the correct form is *namita*.

87) Another doubt is raised.

88) For (sa)*saṁdeha* see MGhK, p. 561-562. The KP, p. 588, defines it as *bhedoktau tadanuktau ca saṁśayaḥ* 'doubt when distinctions are stated or not stated.â

89) In addition to the *saṁdeha*.

90) The author is Ruyyaka. See *The Alamkārasarvasva of Rājānaka Ruyyaka*. Edited by Pt. Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab. NSP : Bombay 1893, pp. 44, and *Alamkārasarvasva of Ruyyaka with Sañjīvanī Commentary of Vidyācakra-vartin*. Text and Study by S. S. Janaki. Meharchand Lachhmands : Delhi 1965, Introduction, pp. 94. In fact, Ruyyaka mentions two views, one of which is the view referred to.

91) And not as the object of a passive construction.

92) Shows the causal connection between *malināni* and *vikāsam rahayanti*.

93) For the quotation form see Vt. II on P. 3.3.108. *Rah-* is mentioned in the *Dhp.* 10.312 as *rahA tyāge*.

94) Indicates *arthāntaranyāsa*, for which see MGhK, pp. 535.

95) Why not *iṭ* by P. 7.2.35? The answer is that P. 7.2.10, which is an exception to P. 7.2.35, prohibits *iṭ* in the case of verbal bases which are monosyllabic and which are mentioned in the *Dhp.* With an *anudātta* vowel.

96) Quoted from KV on P. 7.2.10. See Benares ed., Vol. V, pp. 670. Reference is to *vas* - in the sense of *nivāsa* (*Dhp.* 1.1054), which is a *yajādi* verbal base, and not to *vas æ* in the sense of *ācchādana* (*Dhp.* 2.13). For *yajādi* verbal bases *saṁprasāraṇa* is prescribed by P. 6.1.15 on the condition that a *Kit* suffix follows immediately. The expression *vasiḥ prasāriṇī* stems from Patañjali (*Mbh.* III, p. 283, line 2). *Prasārin* is an *inI* - derivation by P. 5.2.115 in the sense of *tad asyāsti āx* belongs to y.'

97) Masc. and fem.

98) The *upameya* 'the item which is compared' being *aṁśusamūha*, which is a masc. word.

99) See W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Repr. Hildesheim 1964, pp. 34

100) Not directly expressed.

101) The suffix *aN* is added by P. 4.3.120, and the fem. suffix *ÑiP* by P. 4.1.15.

102) See W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Reprint Hildesheim 1967, pp. 30-31 for Atharvaveda passages in which the moon is called lord of the *nakṣatras*.

103) Separation from the lover, the moon.

104) Thus Mall. assumes that the word *mukha* here is used by way of *śleṣa*, in two meanings, one of which goes with the moon, the other with the *nāyaka*. For *śleṣa* 'pun' see *MGhK*, pp. 554-559.

105) For *sma* see P. 3.2.118.

106) Reference is to the male protagonist in a play and his female counterpart, the heroine āUnderstoodā means not directly expressed.

107) *Dik* is a fem. word, and *candra* c. q. *tārakarāja* is masc.

108) The sunrise mountain is a mountain range supposed to be situated in the East and from behind which the sun rises. Known as such in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, according to W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Reprint Hildesheim 1967, p.82.

109) *Sambandhin* is added to clarify the meaning of the gen. case ending. This ending is added by P. 2.3.50 in the sense of *śeṣa*, which practically means *sambandha* 'relation in general.'

110) So whatever is said of the *upameya* should apply to the *upamāna* also.

111) This is *śleṣa* 'pun.' One meaning goes with the *upamāna*, the other with the *upameya*. For *śleṣa* see *MGhK*, pp. 554-559. The *KP*, p. 609, defines *śleṣa* as *vākye ekasmin yatṛānekārthatā* 'when in one and the same sentence the property (of words) of conveying more than one meaning (is found).'

112) *śleṣa* again.

113) The *upamāna* is *karicarma*, the elephant skin, the *upameya* is *dhvāntam*, the darkness.

114) According to Mall. here, the word repetition intensifies the word meaning. See n. 59 for the explanation stated by the *KV* on P. 8.1.12.

115) *Karmadhārayavat* is continued from P. 8.1.11. Apart from *puṃvadbhāva* by P. 6.3.42, and *antodātta* by P. 6.1.223, it ensures the deletion of a case ending by P. 2.4.71. See further n. 62.

116) See *MGhK*, pp. 535-538.

117) Reference is to the boar-*avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

118) Mall. quotes the *Vt.* in a shortened version, like the *KV* on the rule concerned.

119) The text of the commentary reads *bhuvā*, which is obviously to be emended.

120) The quotation form is by *Vt.* II on P. 3.3.108.

121) By itself *udāse* could have a pass. meaning also.

122) By *Vt.* III on P. 1.3.29. The *Vt.* contains the option word *vā*.

123) The earth is supposed to be surrounded by an ocean. The division into an eastern and a western part is already known to the *Rgveda*. See W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Reprint Hildesheim 1967, p.16.

124) For the (rare) use of the genitive in the sense of 'made of' see J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden 1886, 113.

125) For *utprekṣā* see *MGhK*, pp. 535-538.

126) Indicates a causal connection between the cp. constituents *vyamśuka* and *sphuṭa*.

127) In the *Pratimānātaka* ascribed to Bhāsa (ed. C. R. Devadhar, Second Revised ed., Sangli n. d. (1929?), Act I, between the stanzas 28 and 29, Rāma tells Sītā to remove her veil, so that the inhabitants of Ayodhyā may look at her. He then says *nirdoṣadṛśyā hi bhavanti nāryo yajñe vivāhe vyasane vane ca* 'women may be looked at with impunity at a sacrifice, a wedding, in misfortune and in the forest.' In the situation given Rāma and Sītā prepare to go into exile in the forest. It seems that in ancient India long before the Moslem invasion only royal women wore a veil.

128) Reference is to the *Dharaṇikośa* of Dharaṇidāsa. Mentioned in Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Reprint Wiesbaden 1962, p. 267.

129) *San* is presumably added to underline the adjectival function of the preceding word.

130) That is to say, full or complete.

131) For *vibhāvanā* see *MGhK*, pp. 551-552. The *KP* defines it as *kriyāyāḥ pratiṣedhe'pi phalavyāktih* 'the manifestation of an effect even though there is negation of the cause.' That is to say, denial of cause but presence of the effect, a kind of paradox.

132) For *māninī* see the article on *Kirātārjunīya* VIII (-A) in *ABORI*, Vol. LXXXII (2001), p. 93, n. 97.

133) Mall., quoting from memory, errs. The quotation is not from the *Daśarūpa*, but from the *Pratāparudrīya* (ed. K.P. Trivedi, Bombay 1909, p. 31) *Kāvyaaprakaraṇa*, stanza 51. The stanza reads *priyam* instead of *kāntam*. The *kalahāntarītā* variety is also mentioned in the *Daśarūpa* (ed. G. C. O. Haas. Indian edition, Delhi 1962, p. 56). The work is known as *Daśarūpa* or as *Daśarūpaka*. It is dated in the last quarter of the 10th cent. See Haas, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxi.

134) Indicative of the causal connection between the moon taking in the women's reproachful glances and becoming afraid.

135) See n. 59.

136) See *MGhK*, pp. 535-538.

137) Adverb.

138) The text reads *sulopaḥ* ádeletion of the sg. nom. case ending.â But since any case ending is deleted, the reading *sublopaḥ* is to be preferred.

139) See n. 62.

140) Depending on construction with the stars or with the wives.

141) Reference is to P. 2.3.5. The idea is that the embrace is all around the neck.

142) Reference is to P. 2.1.6.

143) Depending on the stars and the women respectively.

144) See n. 105.

145) Quote from Bhartṛhari. See *VP* 3.333 a (*Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya*. Ed. W. Rau. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Band XLII, 4. Franz Steiner Verlag : Wiesbaden 1977). In the stanza four reasons are enumerated why a verbal base takes no object. *Vam* - is usually a transitive verbal base.

146) *Āṅgarāga* is a cosmetic substance like sandal paste applied to the body. See S.N. Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*. Atma Ram & Sons : Delhi 1967, p. 224., and in general for perfumes and salves J. Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India from 200 B.C. - 700 A.D.* English Translation. George Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd.: London 1965, p. 88.

147) Presumably, has flooded.

148) Compare *Kir.* 5.30, *MGhK*, p. 295, and n. 295 here.

149) In Indian mythological cosmology, Mandara, apart from being identified with Meru, is a one of the mountain ranges located round the Meru mountain, famous for their tall trees, 1100 *yojanas* high, looking like banners. See W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. Reprint Hildesheim 1967, p. 93.

150) A verb of going constructed with an abstract noun in the sense of becoming plus the corresponding adjective.

151) The quotation says that *bali* in the sense of 'gift' is masc; but in the sense of an animal sacrifice it is fem.

152) By itself *pratipede* could have an active meaning also.

153) Not *śrautī*, because to express the simile *iva* has not been used, but *tulya*. See *MGhK*, p. 539. The *KP*, p. 548, ff., also divided *pūrṇopamā* into *śrautī* and *ārthī*. Both varieties are possible in a sentence, in a cp. and in a *taddhita*-formation (with *tavat*). In an *ārthī upamā* expressed by a sentence words like *sadṛśa* and *tulya* are used, but not *iva* or *yathā*.

154) See n. 79

155) Indicative of the causal connection between being together with the female and being content.

156) Indicative of *arthāntaranyāsa*.

157) In both readings of the text.

158) The word *apām* occurs nearly at the end of the stanza, whereas *kaṇavāhī* comes near the beginning. Yet, in spite of many words coming in between, the two words have to be construed together. For the required *saṁnidhi* juxtaposition of words in a sentence see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Indian Theories of Meaning*. The Adyar Library and Research Centre. Adyar. Madras 1963, pp. 166-169.

159) Interpreted as an adverb.

160) The rule, in which *vibhāṣā* is continued from P. 5.4.149, says that in a *bv.* cp. ending in *uras*, etc. *kaP* is added as the non-preferred option. But tradition understands *vibhāṣā* to mean simply option.

161) Another qualification of the night wind follows.

162) Actually, *śīsira* means cool, whereas *surabhi* means pleasantly smelling.

163) The quote says that *āñ* is used in the senses of *īṣat* 'a little' and *abhivyāpti* 'complete pervasion.'

164) For the form of the quotation apply *Vt. II* on P. 3.3.108. By itself *udāse* could have an active meaning also. That is why Mall. adds his explanation.

165) i. e., supported

166) Not directly expressed by *iva*.

167) The suffix *tumUN* is added by P. 3.3.158.

168) *Śasimayūkhasakha* must be a *tp.* cp. by P. 5.4.91.

169) As indicated by *san*.

170) The word *tācchīlya* that being his / its custom is continued from P. 3.2.129

171) Sunset, twilight and the moon rise.

172) Qualifies *suradāraiḥ*, which is a masc. word.

173) The expectation of *surata* is the cause for activities contained in the following qualifications.

174) i.e., the apsaras.

175) The same form may convey an active sense also. See n. 47.

176) The *Kāmasūtra* 1.5.39 defines the *dūtakarṃa* as being concerned with *ubhayoḥ sādharmaṇam ubhayatrodāraṇ viśeṣato nāyikāyāḥ suvisrabdham* 'what is shared by both, what serves the best interests of both parties, especially (gaining) the confidence of the heroine.' An enumeration of such intermediaries provided by *KS* 1.5.38, as washermen, barbers, makers of garlands, perfume sellers (*gāndhika*), sellers of liquor, beggars, shepherds, sellers of betel, dealers in gold, and figures known from the theatre, like the jester (*vidūṣaka*). These are all male persons. The desired qualities of such a *dūta* are mentioned in *KS* 1.5.40. Success is guaranteed by *KS* 1.5.41. The *Ratirahasya* (*Ratirahasya of Pandit Kokkoka*. Translated... by S.C. Upadhyaya. D.B. Taraporewala : Bombay 1965, Chapter 13, 102-103, mentions a list of female go-betweens.

177) Repeated for the sake of construction.

178) By P. 5.1.119 or 124.

179) See n. 175.

180) Also known as *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra* 'love in separation', i.e. love afflicted by pain / grief, one of the two varieties of *śṛṅgāra*, the main *rasa* 'aesthetic mood' in Indian dramaturgy and *kāvya*. The other variety is *sambhogaśṛṅgāra* 'love in enjoyment.' Compare n. 25.

181) The rule assigns the status of *sampradāna* to the one who feels pleased in connection with verbal bases having the meaning of *ruc* -. The dative ending is added by P. 2.3.13.

182) *Vaidharmyāt*. Instead of saying that the garlands are pleasurable when the lovers are there, the stanza says that they are not pleasurable when the lovers are not there.

183) The rule says that *yaT* is added after a verbal base ending in a labial and having short *a* in prefinal position.

184) The rule says that the suffixes called *kṛtya* are often used in senses other than the prescribed ones. In the present case *yaT* is used in the sense of location.

185) For *mānini* see the article on *Kirātārjunīya VIII (-A)*, n. 97, in *ABORI*, Vol. LXXII, 2001, p. 93. The quotation is from *Daśarūpa* (ed. G.C.O. Haas, Indian reprint, Delhi 1962) 4.67a.

186) Thus Mall. makes it clear that *avalalambhe* has a passive sense.

187) Indicative of *arthāntaranyāsa*.

188) *Abhisāritavat* is a participle of the causative of *abhisr* -. Since *sr* - is not a *curādi* verbal base, the addition of *ṆiC* should regularly be by P. 3.1.26, which implies a causative meaning. But in *abhisāritavat* the causative has the sense of the simplex. The women were not caused to go, they went of their own free will. For *svārthe ṇic* compare VP 3.7.60 cd (ed. W. Rau, Wiesbaden 1977), *nirvṛttapreṣanād dhātoḥ prakṛte 'rthe ṇij ucyate* 'on account of prompting of the verbal base (meaning) being absent,' (the suffix) *ṆiC* is stated in the original meaning (of the verbal base). The use of the word *abhisāritavat* calls to mind the variety of *nāyikā* called *abhisārikā* who is said to go after her lover. See *Daśarūpa* (ed. G.O.C. Haas 1912, repr. 1962), 2.44.

189) *Sambandhin* is added to clarify the sense of the gen. ending. See n.109.

190) For *sma* apply P. 3.2.118.

191) See n. 153.

192) Reference is to *Kāvyaḍarsa* (ed. O. Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1890) 2.61 b. The passage from 2.57 onwards enumerates words expressing similarity. Among them are *spardhate jayati dveṣṭi* and *pratigarjati*.

193) *Saḥ* is used in a derogatory sense. Compare Latin *iste*. It also refers to someone named before (*anvādeśa*). See J.S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax* 1886, 275.

194) First, *vac* - is substituted for *brū* - before an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix by P. 2.4.53. Secondly, Mall. refers to *Vt* I on P. 1.4.51, which mentions *duhādi*. Among the *duhādi* verbal bases is *brū* -. The *Vt*. is traditionally interpreted to mean that in connection with these verbal bases which take two objects the *apradhāna*, i.e., the non-*īpsitatama* object, becomes *akathita*. Therefore it comes under P. 4.1.51, and consequently the word functioning as the *akathitakarman* receives the acc. case ending by P. 2.3.2. One example is *putraṁ brūte dharman* 'he tells the boy *dharma*.' Now the question is what happens in the passive. As stated by Mall., here the *apradhāna karman* is passivized. Thus we get *putraḥ ucyate dharmam*. The corresponding phrase in our case is *saḥ ucyatām vacanīyam*. Here *vacanīyam*, which functions as the *pradhānakarman* 'main object,' remains an acc. case form. See *KĀRA*, Note (124) for some confusion in the traditional interpretation of *Vt*. I.

195) Added to indicate a vocative.

196) *Viṣaye* is added to make clear that the case ending in *īṣvare* is a *viṣayasaptamī*, a loc. case ending indicating a domain. See *SK*, No. 633, on P. 2.3.36.

197) Supplied for the sake of construction.

198) *Artha* is one of the meanings assigned to a *kṛtya* suffix by P. 3.3.169. The *kṛtya* suffix added in *anuneya* is *yaT* by P. 3.2.97.

199) *Gatam* is a *bhāve ktaḥ* derivation by P. 3.3.114.

200) See n. 195.

201) The rule says that, also, in the sense of 'thinking oneself to be...' the suffix *Khaś* is added. According to tradition, the word *ca* in this rule is interpreted to mean that the suffix *NinI* (P. 3.2.78) is also added in the same sense. In fact, P. 3.2.83 is to be split into an (a) rule, *ātmamāni*, which prescribes *NinI*, and a (b) rule, *khaś ca*, which prescribes *Khaś*.

202) Added for the sake of construction.

203) See n. 196.

204) A different construction is possible.

205) The lovers.

206) Apparently, the lovers had sneaked up behind the women and were listening in.

207) By itself *ūhe* could have an active meaning also.

208) The lovers.

209) The *prauḍhā* / *pragalbhā* variety is described by the *Daśarūpa*, 2.29, as mad with love, out of her mind, clinging to her lover, so to speak, on account of bliss even at the beginning of sex. The *kalahāntarītā* variety is described (2.41) as fallen out with her lover because of a quarrel, but feeling remorse.

210) *Sāttvika*, or *sāttvikabhāva*, is mentioned in *Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra*, ed. M. Ghosh, Vol. I (Translation), Calcutta 1962, p. 130. Eight physical manifestations are enumerated, among them horripilation and sweat. See also *Daśarūpa* (ed. G.C.O. Haas 1912, repr. 1962) 4.1 (*sāttvika* as one of the causes of *rasa*) and 4.7 (enumeration), and the *Pratāparudrīya* (ed. K. P. Trivedi, Bombay 1909) p. 224 (enumeration).

211) Added for construction.

212) By P. 5.1.119.

213) Added for construction.

214) The disorderly state of woman's ornament.

215) A popular etymology. M. Mayrhofer, *KEWA*, Bd. III, p. 474, under *śīdhu*, provides no explanation.

216) *Tathā*, introducing another qualification of the woman.

217) Supplied by the commentator.

218) *Nu* practically means *vā*. Compare 9.15 and 9.69.

219) Thus *upalebhe* must have a passive meaning.

220) Two casuses are mentioned, union with lover and intoxication. Also two effects are mentioned, discarding anger and loosening up of shyness. But either cause may lead to these effects. Which cause in particular is left in doubt.

221) See n. 88 and Note (15).

222) The cp. is formed by P. 2.1.6 (*vibhakti*).

223) Or a pensive mood.

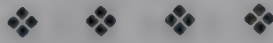
224) The *Kāmasūtra* devotes a whole section in the chapter called *Pāradārika* to the business of a *dūtī*. KS. 5.3.2, defines her task in general as trying to win over a woman who does not disclose (read : *āvṛṇvānām* for *avṛṇvānām*) her inner thoughts by means of *dūtī*. An enumeration of kinds of *dūtī* follows in KS. 5.4.62, widows, fortune tellers, slave girls, Buddhist nuns and working women who have entrance to the house and gain confidence.

225) A verb of going constructed with an abstract noun in the sense of becoming plus the corresponding adj.

226) By P. 8.1.12. See n.62.

227) By P. 8.1.11. See n. 115.

228) See n. 209.



CHARACTERIZING CLASSICAL ANUṢṬUP: A STUDY IN SANSKRIT PROSODY

By

G. S. S. MURTHY

Synopsis

A study of relevant sections of the well-known works of prosody in Sanskrit, Piṅgala's Chandaḥśāstram and Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛttaratnākara, reveals that the identifying characteristics of the ubiquitous and most frequently occurring Sanskrit metre anuṣṭup are not properly brought out in these classics. After a brief discussion of the concerned sections of these two works and two other kārikās, the author proposes a comprehensive definition for the classical anuṣṭup. This study was undertaken in course of developing a computer programme which identifies Sanskrit vṛtta metres.

Key words: Sanskrit prosody, vṛtta, chandas, chandaḥśāstra, Piṅgala, anuṣṭup

1.0 Introduction

Among all the metres employed in Sanskrit classical literature, *anuṣṭup*, a form of verse with 8 *akṣaras* to a *pāda* and 4 *pādas* to a *śloka*, is the most frequently and widely employed. If we take into account that *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas* and *Koṣas* mostly employ *anuṣṭup* it should indeed be the most widely employed metre among all metrical compositions of the world. It may be noted that this paper does not deal with Vedic *anuṣṭup*, although classical *anuṣṭup* is a descendant of vedic *anuṣṭup*. In course of writing a computer programme,¹ which identifies the *vṛtta*, when a cycle of a *vṛtta* is input, the author noticed the strange situation that the well known classics on *chandas*, namely *Chandaḥśāstram* of Piṅgala and *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa, do not adequately define the classical *anuṣṭup*. This paper attempts to provide a precise definition, namely a set of necessary and sufficient characteristics that uniquely identifies the metre.

It needs to be clarified regarding terminology used in this paper, that what is meant by *anuṣṭup* is the metre that is employed in the vast body of Sanskrit *śloka*

literature and what is meant by 'anuṣṭup category' is the general category of metres having 8 *akṣaras* to a *pāda*, as given in Piṅgala or Kedārabhaṭṭa.

2.0 Gaṇa system of prosody

For the benefit of those who may not be very familiar with Sanskrit prosody, a brief introduction to the *gaṇa* system of prosody is in order.

A *padya* (a stanza) consists of four *pādas* (quarters) each *pāda* having a fixed number of *akṣaras* (syllables) and/or a fixed number of *mātrās* (= a unit of syllabic duration). A single vowel or one or more consonants followed by a vowel constitute an *akṣara*. A short vowel has a duration of one *mātrā*, and is called *laghu*, and a long vowel has a duration of two *mātrās*, and is called *guru*. When a short vowel is followed by an *anusvāra*, a *visarga* or a *saṃyuktākṣara* (conjunct consonant), it is treated as a *guru* (two *mātrās*). In what is called the *gaṇa*-based system, each *pāda* of a *śloka* is divided into groups of three *akṣaras* each. An age-old cyclic mnemonic that helps in remembering and characterizing the *gaṇas* is as follows:

यमाताराजभानस

yamātārājabhānasa

A sequence of 3 adjacent *akṣaras* in this mnemonic characterizes a *gaṇa* and the first *akṣara* of a sequence is the name of that *gaṇa*. For example, the first sequence of 3 *akṣaras* *yamātā*, whose 3 *akṣara*as are respectively *laghu*, *guru*, *guru* specifies that *ya gaṇa* consists of a sequence *laghu*, *guru*, *guru*. The eight possible sequences and their names are as follows:

Sequence	1 st <i>akṣara</i>	2 nd	3 rd	Name of <i>gaṇa</i>
<i>yamātā</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>ya</i>
<i>mātārā</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>tārāja</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>ta</i>
<i>rājabhā</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>ra</i>
<i>jabhāna</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>ja</i>
<i>bhānasa</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>bha</i>
<i>nasaya</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>sayamā</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>laghu</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>sa</i>

Broadly there are 3 types of metres in classical Sanskrit.

1. Each *pāda* of a *śloka* consists of a specified number of *mātrās*, with some constraints.

2. Each *pāda* consists of a specified sequence of *gaṇas*, which may be followed by one or two *akṣaras*; each being either *guru* or *laghu*. The last *akṣara* of a *pāda* is generally considered a *guru*. Such stanzas are called *vṛttas* or *vṛtta-ślokas*.

3. Each *pāda* consists of a specified number of *akṣaras* with some constraints.

Among metres employed in classical Sanskrit literature, *anuṣṭup* (often called *śloka*) appears to be the only one which belongs to the third type. Whereas *mātrā*-based metres *āryā* and *vaitālīya* have only a defined number of *mātrās* in a *pāda* subject to a few other constraints of *akṣaras* in a *pāda* is specified as eight, with some constraints on the use of certain *gaṇas* at certain positions of the *pāda*.

3.0 *Anuṣṭup* category of Piṅgala

The characteristics of various metres belonging to *anuṣṭup* category, as given by Piṅgala in his *Chandaḥśāstram* are as follows:

3.1 *Vaktra* : 1. No 'sa' *gaṇa* and 'na' *gaṇa* after the first *akṣara* of a *pāda*.

2. No 'ra' *gaṇa* also after the first *akṣara* of an even *pāda*.

3. Only 'ya' *gaṇa* after the 4th *akṣara* of a *pāda*.

The third stipulation above renders *vaktra* a mere textbook metre of *anuṣṭup* in category, virtually not coming under what one typically comes across as *anuṣṭup* in classical literature.

3.2 *Pathyāvaktra* : All the three rules of *vaktra* are operative subject to the following:

Only *ja gaṇa* is permitted after the 4th *akṣara* of even *padās*. *Pathyāvaktra* is quite clearly a recognizable form of *anuṣṭup*, but its definition is too restrictive (because of its insistence on the use of 'ya' *gaṇa* after the 4th *akṣara* of odd *padās*) to cover other types of *anuṣṭup* seen in classical literature.

3.3 *Capalāvaktra* : All the three rules of *vaktra* are operative subject to the following:

In the odd *pādas* after the 4th *akṣara* 'na' *gaṇa* is used instead of 'ya' *gaṇa*. This yields a metre which is not recognizable as *anuṣṭup*.

3.4 *Vipulā* (*yugmavipulā*): All the three rules of *vaktra* are operative subject to the following:

Only a *laghu* is permitted as the 7th *akṣara* of even *pādas*. *Vipulā* is less restrictive than 'pathyāvaktra' and as such *pathyāvaktra* becomes a sub-category of 'vipulā'. Unfortunately there is some confusion here as the examples given under *vipulā* also meet the *pathyāvaktra* criterion of having a 'ja' *gaṇa* after 4th *akṣara* in the even *pādas*. *Vṛttikāra* fails to give a convincing explanation to this overlap of 'vipulā' and *pathyāvaktra*. *Vipulā* is again categorized into sub-categories, as per *vṛttikāra*, depending on the *gaṇa* used in the odd *pādas* after the 4th *akṣara*. Instead of *ya gaṇa* which is the general rule for *vaktra*, use of *bha*, *ra*, *na*, *ta* and *ma gaṇa* renders the *vṛtta bha*-, *ra*-, *na*-, *ta*-, and *ma*- *vipulā* respectively. After quoting examples from the classics, he wrongly comes to the conclusion, that on the whole, all *vipulā* can be characterized by the condition that the 4th *akṣara* of a *pāda* is a *guru*. What needs to be noted here is that *vipulā* does not stipulate *ja gaṇa* after the 4th *akṣara* of even *pādas* and only stipulates that the 7th *akṣara* of even *pāda* be a *laghu*. If one uses *ta bha* or *na gaṇa* in place of *ja gaṇa* after the 4th *akṣara*, *vipulā* condition is still met but the *padya* so formed is not recognizable as *anuṣṭup*.

3.5 The above discussion could be summarized in the form of tables as follows:

Vaktra

	<i>Pādas</i> 1 & 3	<i>Pādas</i> 2 & 4
After 1 st <i>akṣara</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>	Other than 'sa', 'na' & 'ra' <i>gaṇas</i>
After 4 th <i>akṣara</i>	Only 'ya' <i>gaṇa</i>	Only 'ya' <i>gaṇa</i>

Pathyāvaktra

	<i>Pādas</i> 1 & 3	<i>Pādas</i> 2 & 4
After 1 st <i>akṣara</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>	Other than 'sa', 'na' & 'ra' <i>gaṇas</i>
After 4 th <i>akṣara</i>	Only 'ya' <i>gaṇa</i>	Only 'ja' <i>gaṇa</i>

Vipulā

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas	Other than 'sa', 'na' & 'ra' gaṇas
After 4 th akṣara	'ya', 'bha' 'ra', 'na', 'ta' or 'ma' gaṇa	'ta', 'ja', 'bha' or 'na' gaṇa

4. *Anuṣṭup* category of Kedārabhaṭṭa

Vṛttaratnākara of Kedārabhaṭṭa deals with the *anuṣṭup* category in an even less satisfactory manner. His relevant definitions are given below in the form of tables. The corresponding demonstrative definition (*lakṣaṇa*) is given below each table.

Vaktra

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas
After 4 th akṣara	Only 'ya' gaṇa	Only 'ya' gaṇa

Vaktraṁ nādyānnasau syātām abdher yo'nuṣṭubhi khyātam

Pathyāvakra

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas	Other than 'sa', & 'na' gaṇas
After 4 th akṣara	Only 'ya' gaṇa	Only 'ja' gaṇa

युजोर्जेन सरिद्धर्तुः पथ्यावक्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम्

yujor jena saridbhartuḥ pathyāvakraṁ prakīrtitam

Vipārītapathyāvakra

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas
After 4 th akṣara	Only 'ja' gaṇa	Only 'ya' gaṇa

अयुजोर्जेन वारिधेः तदेव विपरीतादि

ayujor jena vāridheḥ tad eva viparītādi

Capalāvaktra

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st <i>akṣara</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>
After 4 th <i>akṣara</i>	Only 'na' <i>gaṇa</i>	Only 'ya' <i>gaṇa</i>

चपलावक्त्रमयुजोर्नकारश्चेत् पयोराशेः

capalāvaktram ayujpr nakāraś cet prayorāśeḥ

Yugmavipulā

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st <i>akṣara</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>	Other than 'sa' & 'na' <i>gaṇas</i>
After 4 th <i>akṣara</i>	Only 'ya' <i>gaṇa</i>	Only 'ta', 'bha', 'na' or 'ja' <i>gaṇa</i>

यस्यां लः सप्तमो युग्मे सा युग्मविपुला मता

yasyām laḥ saptamo yugme sā yugmavipulā matā

(That the seventh *akṣara* should be a *laghu*, is equivalent to 'ta, bha, na & ja' *gaṇas* being allowed after the 4th *akṣara*).

What needs to be noted with regard to *Yugmavipulā* is, that the demonstrative rule quoted above, uses 'ja *gaṇa*' after the 4th *akṣara* of the second *pāda*, and not any of the other permitted namely, 'ta, bha or na' *gaṇa*.

Vṛttaratnākara proceeds to define *vipulā*, as per Saitava, as having a *laghu* for the seventh *akṣara* in all the *pādas*. Further he defines *bha vipulā*, *na vipulā* and *ta vipulā*. These are totally at variance with the corresponding definitions of Piṅgala discussed in para 3.0, above and as nowhere near classical *anuṣṭup*, they need not be discussed any further here. Possibly Kedārabhaṭṭa did not properly interpret the *sūtras* of Piṅgala and hence this discrepancy.

5.0 Two *kārikās*

The following *kārikā* is quoted in the commentary *Pañcikā* of Rāmacandrakavibhārati on *Vṛttaratnākara* as a definition of *anūṣṭup*.

पञ्चमं लघु सर्वत्र सप्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।

pañcamam laghu sarvartra saptamam dvicaturthayoḥ

गुरु षष्ठं तु पादानां शेषास्त्यनियमाः स्मृताः ॥

guru ṣaṣṭham tu pādānām śeṣās tv aniyamāḥ smṛtāḥ

Another definition quoted elsewhere is as follows :

श्लोके षष्ठं गुरु ज्ञेयं सर्वत्र लघु पञ्चमम् ।

śloke ṣaṣṭham guru jñeyam sarvatra laghu pañcamam

द्विचतुष्पादयोर्ह्रस्वं सप्तमं दीर्घमन्ययोः ॥

dvicatuṣpādayorhrasvaṁ saptamam dīrghamanyayoḥ

Neither of these two *kārikas* fully and precisely defines *anuṣṭup*, although both imply that after the 4th 'ja' gaṇa is required in the even *pādas* and the second one also implies that in the odd *pāda* after the 4th akṣara 'ya' gaṇa is required. We need a definition that precisely characterizes *anuṣṭup* encountered in classical Sanskrit literature.

6.0 Characteristics of *anuṣṭup*

A close look at *anuṣṭup* verses in the classical literature of Sanskrit reveals that almost all of them exhibit the following major characteristics :

1. The first as well as the last akṣara of a *pāda* can either be *laghu* or *guru*. (The last akṣara of a *pāda* of a stanza can always be treated a *guru* even if it is a *laghu*).

2. After the 4th akṣara of an even *pāda* only 'ja' gaṇa is employed.

3. After the first akṣara of an even *pāda* gaṇas 'na, sa and ra' are not employed.

4. After the first akṣara of an odd *pāda* gaṇas 'na and sa' are not employed.

5. After the fourth akṣara of an odd *pāda* gaṇas 'sa and ja' are not employed.

The above characteristics can again be represented in the form of a table as below:

	<i>Pādas 1 & 3</i>	<i>Pādas 2 & 4</i>
After 1 st akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'na' gaṇas	Other than 'sa', 'na' & 'ra' gaṇaâs
After 4 th akṣara	Other than 'sa' & 'ja' gaṇa	Only 'ja' gaṇa

It needs to be emphasized, that the above table only gives the gross characteristics of classical *anuṣṭup*, and that a deeper study reveals a fine structure, which is discussed in the next paragraph. It is noted in passing, that the above characteristics form a sub-category in '*vipulā*' as given by Piṅgala. As per the above table, in the odd *pāda* '*ya, ma, ta, ra, ja, bha*' *gaṇas* could be employed after the first *akṣara* and after the 4th *akṣara* '*ya, ma, ta, ra, bha, na*' *gaṇas* could be employed. When one tries to work out all possible combinations (a total of 36) between these two permissible sets, one notices that not all combinations lead to recognizable forms of the odd *pāda* of an *anuṣṭup*. As regards the even *pāda*, all possible combinations (a total of 5) of '*ya, ma, ta, ja, bha*' *gaṇas* on the one hand and '*ja*' *gaṇa* on the other yield recognizable even *pāda* of an *anuṣṭup*. In order to facilitate this examination a table is formed below. The first column of the table gives the name of the *gaṇa*. The second column gives a possible meaningful word or phrase, which comprises a *laghu* or *guru* as first *akṣara* followed by a *gaṇa* indicated in the first column of the row. This word or phrase could be used as a possible first half of a *pāda*. The third column gives again a meaningful word or phrase comprising 3 *akṣaras* belonging to the specific *gaṇa* followed by a *guru*, which could be used as the latter half of a *pāda*.

Name of <i>gaṇa</i>	Guru/laghu + <i>gaṇa</i>	<i>Guru</i> <i>Gaṇa</i> + <i>gaṇa</i>
Ya	śārṅgadhanvā	Ramānāthaḥ
Ma	Gadāpāṇiḥ	Rājīvākṣaḥ
Ta	Sadā pātu	Lakṣmīpatiḥ
Ra	Janārdanaḥ	Mānivāsaḥ
Ja	Mām sa pātu	Kṛpānidhiḥ
Bha	Sa rakṣati	Mānilayaḥ
Na	Māmavatu	Madhuripuḥ
Sa	śrīnilayaḥ	Kamalākṣaḥ

It could be easily verified from the above table that out of the 36 possible combinations for the odd *pāda* the following 16 combinations only yield recognizable odd *pāda* of *anuṣṭup* : *yaya, maya, taya, raya, jaya, bhaya, rama, yara, mara, rara, yabha, mabha, rabha, yana, mana, rana*.

Out of this, the first six are the same as the *pathyāvaktra* of Piṅgala and the others subcategories of *vipulā*. (As already mentioned, *pathyāvaktra* itself is a sub-

category of *vipulā*.) The 16 combinations are given below, indicating an example for each from AK selected in a random manner as well as from the above table. Symbol ^ stands for *laghu* / *guru* as the either *akṣara* of a *pāda*.

/1. ^ya_ya^

आश्रयाशो बृहद्भानुः -

āśrayāśo bṛhadbhānuḥ - AK 108²

शार्ङ्गधन्वा रमानाथः

śārṅgadhanvā ramānāthaḥ

Paṭhya Vākya

/2. ^ma_ya^

प्राणोपानस्समानश्च -

prāṇopānas samānaś ca - AK 126

गदापाणी रमानाथः

gadāpāṇī ramānāthaḥ

/3. ^ta_ya^

कृतान्तो यमुनाभ्राता -

kṛtānto yamunābhrātā - AK 116

सदा पातु रमानाथः

sadā pātu ramānāthaḥ

/4. ^ra_ya^ //

स्त्रीपुन्नपुंसकं ज्ञेयम् -

stṛīpunnapumsakaṁ jñeyam - AK 6

जनार्दनो रमानाथः

janārdano rāmanāthaḥ

/5. ^ja_ya^

लुप्तवर्णपदं ग्रस्तम् -

luptavarṇapadaṁ grastam - AK 350

मां स पातु रमानाथः

mām sa pātu ramānāthaḥ //

/ 6. ^bha_ya^

ललाटमलिकं गोधिः -

lalāṭam alikaṁ godhiḥ - AK 1257

स रक्षति रमानाथः

sa rakṣati ramānāthaḥ

/ 7. ^ra_ma^

मोक्षोपवर्गोधाज्ञानम् -

mokṣopavargothājñānam - AK 290

जनार्दनो राजीवाक्षः

janārdano rājivākṣaḥ

/ 8. ^ya_ra^

कपटोल्ली व्याजदम्भो -

kaṭaṭo strī vyājadambho - AK 421

शार्ङ्गधन्वा मानिवासः

śārṅgadhanvā mānivāsaḥ

/ 9. ^ma_ra^

बर्हिःशुष्मा कृष्णवर्त्मा -

barhiśśuṣmā kṛṣṇavartmā - AK 207

गदापाणिर्मानिवासः

gadāpāṇir mānivāsaḥ

/ 10. ^ra_ra^

ऐरावतः पुण्डरीको -

airāvataḥ puṇḍarīko - AK 151

जनार्दनो मानिवासः

janārdano mānivāsaḥ

/ 11. ^ya_bha^

प्रषदश्चो गन्धवहो -

prṣadaśvo gandhavaho - AK 123

शार्ङ्गधन्वा मानिलयः

śārngadhanvā mānilayaḥ

12. ^ma_bha^

मिथ्यादृष्टिर्नास्तिकता -

mithyādr̥ṣṭir nāstikatā - AK 284

गदापाणिर्मानिलयः

gadāpāṇir mānilayaḥ

13. ^ra_bha^

क्षेत्रज्ञ आत्मा पुरुषः -

kṣetrajña ātmā puruṣaḥ - AK 272

जनार्दनो मानिलयः

janārdano mānilayaḥ

14. ^ya_na^

धर्मराजः पितृपतिः -

dharmaarājaḥ pitṛpatiḥ - AK 115

शार्ङ्गधन्वा मधुरिपुः

śārngadhanvā madhuripuḥ

15. ^ma_na^

नभस्वद्वातपवन -

nabhasvad vātapavana - AK 125

गदापाणिर्मधुरिपुः ।

gadāpāṇir madhuripuḥ

16. ^ra_na^

समीरमारुतमारुत -

samīramārutamarut - AK 124

जनार्दनो मधुरिपुः

janārdano madhuripuḥ

In similar manner the five possible combinations for the even *pāda* can be demonstrated from the above table and examples can be easily obtained from any *anuṣṭup* work in Sanskrit.

It needs to be emphasized, that the above characterization will cover a very large percentage of *śloka* literature. It would be possible to identify *ślokas* in the vast body of Sanskrit literature, which are not covered by the above characterization. But they will be in a negligibly small percentage and it is the contention of the author that they are best treated as lapses (*vṛttibhaṅga*). Any attempt to broaden the definition further, in order to accommodate a miniscule percentage of the *śloka* population, would render the exercise meaningless.

The comprehensive characterization offered above for classical *anuṣṭup* could be composed into a pair of *kārikās*, not elegant though, as follows:

चतुर्थीत्तु ज एव स्यात् आद्यान् नसरा युजि ।

chaturthāt tu ja eva syāt ādyān na nasarā yuji

अयुज्यब्ध्युत्तरम् यश्चेत् नसौ नाद्यादनुष्टुभि ॥

ayujyabdhyuttaram yaścet nasau nādyādanuṣṭubhi

अब्धेर्मश्चेत् र एवाद्यात् रो भो नोऽब्ध्युत्तरं यदि ।

abdhermaścet ra evādyāt ro bho no bdhyuttaram yadi

अयुज्याद्यादन्यतमो यमरेषु भवेत् सदा ॥

ayujyādyādanyatamo yamareṣu bhavet sadā

अनुष्टुभियुजि द्वितीयचतुर्थपादे आद्याद् अक्षरात् ऊर्ध्वं नसरा न गण स गण र गणाः न स्युः चतुर्थीत् अक्षरात् ऊर्ध्वं ज गण एव स्यात् । अयुजि प्रथमतृतीयपादे अब्ध्युत्तरं चतुर्थीत् अक्षरात् ऊर्ध्वं य गणश्चेत् आद्यात् अक्षरादूर्ध्वं नसौ नगणसगणौ न स्याताम् । अयुजि प्रथमतृतीयपादे अब्धेः चतुर्थीत् अक्षरात् ऊर्ध्वं म गणश्चेत् आद्यात् अक्षरादूर्ध्वं र गण एव स्यात् अब्ध्युत्तरं चतुर्थीत् अक्षरात् ऊर्ध्वं रगणो भगणो नगणश्चेत् आद्यात् अक्षरादूर्ध्वं य गण म गण र गणेष्वन्यतमः सदा भवेत् ।

anuṣṭubhiyuji (dvitīyacaturthapāde) ādyād (akṣarāt ūrdhvaṁ) nasarā (na gaṇa sa gaṇa ra gaṇāḥ) na (syuḥ) chaturthāt (akṣarāt ūrdhvaṁ) ja (gaṇa) eva syāt. ayuji (prathamatrītipāde) abdhyuttaram (chaturthāt akṣarāt ūrdhvaṁ) ya gaṇaścet ādyāt (akṣarādūrdhvaṁ) nasau nagaṇasagaṇau na (syātām) ayuji (prathamatrītipāde) abdheḥ (chaturthāt akṣarāt ūrdhvaṁ) ma gaṇaścet ādyāt (akṣarādūrdhvaṁ) ra (gaṇa) eva syāt abdhyuttaram (chaturthāt akṣarāt ūrdhvaṁ) ragaṇo bhagaṇo nagaṇaścet ādyāt (akṣarādūrdhvaṁ) ya gaṇa ma gaṇa ra gaṇeṣvanyatamaḥ sadā bhavet ।

In *anuṣṭup* in the even *pādas* after the first *akṣara* 'na, sa, ra' *gaṇas* are forbidden, after the 4th *akṣara* only *ja gaṇa* is allowed. In the odd *pādas* after the 4th *akṣara* if 'ya' *gaṇa* is used, after the first *akṣara* 'na and sa' *gaṇas* are not allowed (6 combinations); if after the 4th *akṣara* 'ma' *gaṇa* is used after the first *akṣara* only 'ra' *gaṇa* is permissible (1 combination); if after the 4th *akṣara* ra, bha or na *gaṇa* is used, after the first *akṣara* 'ya, ma or ra' *gaṇa* has to be used (9 combinations).

7.0 Observed lapses

The author has come across a few exceptions to the above definition, even in AK:

मतल्लिका मचर्चिका प्रकाण्डमुद्धतलजौ । २६८

matallikā macarcikā prakāṇḍamuddhatalajau 268

प्रशस्तवाचकान्यमून्यः शुभावहो विधिः ॥ २६९

praśastavācakānyamūnyaḥ śubhāvaho vidhiḥ 269

प्रमापणं निबर्हणं निकारणं विचारणम् । १६९२

pramāpaṇam nibarhaṇam nikāraṇam vicāraṇam 1692

प्रवासनं परासनं निषूदनं निहिंसनम् ॥ १६९३

pravāsanam parāsanam niṣūdanam nihiṃsanam 1693

The above two verses are not really *anuṣṭup* although they have 8 *akṣaras* to a *pāda*. They follow a *gaṇa* - based metre *pramāṇikā* defined by

प्रमाणिका जरी लगौ

pramāṇikā jarau lagau

given in *Vṛttaratnākara* Chapter 3.

The following are glaring exceptions, which do not follow even the basic condition that 'na and sa' *gaṇas* are disallowed after the first *akṣara* ! The first occurs as the first half of the last *śloka* of a *kāṇḍa* in AK.

इत्यमरसिंहकृतौ नामलिङ्गानुशासने ।

^na_bha^

ity amarasimhakarṭau nāmaliṅgānuśāsane

खनति तेन तद्वोढा

^sa_ya^

khanatī tena tadvoḍhā - AK 1835

The following instances of lapses are taken from the *vr̥tti* on Piṅgala's *Chandaḥśāstram*. They are in fact quoted by the learned *vr̥ttikāra* as examples of use of various *gaṇas* in *anuṣṭup*.

^ma_ta^

वन्दे देवं सोमेश्वरं जटामुकुटमण्डितम् ।

vande devaṁ someśvaraṁ jaṭāmukutaṁḍitam

^bha_ta^

खट्वाङ्गधरं चन्द्रमःशिखामणिविभूषितम् ॥

khaṭvāṅgadharaṁ candramaḥśikhāmaṇivibhūṣitam

^ra_ta^

वन्दे कविं श्रीभारविं लोकसन्तमसच्छिदम् ।

vande kaviṁ śrībhāraviṁ lokasantamasācchidam

^bha_ta^

लोकव्यवहारं प्रति सदृशौ बालपण्डितौ ॥

lokavyavahāraṁ prati sadṛśau bālapaṇḍitau

^ya_sa^

क्षणविध्वंसिनि काये का चिन्ता मरणे रणे ॥

kṣaṇavidhvaṁsini kāye kā cintā maraṇe raṇe

While reciting the lines given above, one can easily sense the lapse of internal rhythm in the first *pāda*, which is characteristic of an *anuṣṭup*.

It is to be conceded that what exactly constitutes the internal rhythm of *anuṣṭup* or for that matter of any other *vr̥tta* is something, which is as yet unexplored. It may be that it is a matter of simply getting accustomed to a particular sequence of *gaṇas* over a period of time, as a result of frequently encountering it in the literature or it is something deeper.

8.0 Conclusion

It is indeed surprising that *anuṣṭup* has remained ill-defined for so long. It has been shown in this paper, that leaving the first and the last *akṣara* of an *anuṣṭup*, which could be either *laghu* or *guru*, the remaining six *akṣaras* in an odd *pāda* have to be one of the specified sixteen combinations of two permitted *gaṇas*. In an even

pāda after the first *akṣara* 'ya, ma, ta, ja, bha' *gaṇa* is to be used followed by 'ja' *gaṇa*.

There are very many treatises on *chandas* other than Piṅgala's and Kedārabhaṭṭa's, although they are not as well-known and popular. There are works on *chandas* in other Indian languages, too, where Sanskrit *vṛttas* and *ślokas* are commonly used. It is not known, if somewhere a detailed study of *anuṣṭup*, on the lines given here is available. Given the predisposition for later scholars to follow the trodden path, it is not likely though. If *anuṣṭup* is being used for thousands of years in Sanskrit literature without a precise definition having been spelt out till date, it must be simply because of the fact, that the internal rhythm of *anuṣṭup* becomes ingrained in the mind of a student of Sanskrit at an early age, due to constant and continuous encounter with *anuṣṭup* and, when one wants to compose a verse in *anuṣṭup*, one is guided by that rhythm intuitively. This paper has attempted to characterize *anuṣṭup* in such a way, that most of *śloka* literature of Sanskrit falls within its ambit. What exactly is the internal rhythm of a Sanskrit *vṛtta*, is a matter yet to be explored.

References :

1. *Chandaḥśāstram* of Piṅgala: Kāvya-mālā series of Nirnayasagar Press
2. *Vṛttaratnākaraḥ* of Kedārabhaṭṭa: Nirnayasagar Press
3. *Amarakośaḥ* of Amarasimha: Nirnayasagar Press

Notes:

1. Those interested in this program may get in touch with the author by email: gssmurthy@vsnl.com
2. AK108 means line number 108 of *Amarakośa* edited by W.L.S. Pansikar and published by Nirnayasagar 1934.



THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY
JOSEPH NEALE
OF THE BOSTON BAR
IN TWO VOLUMES
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THE *RĀMĀYAṆA* TRADITION IN CENTRAL HIMALAYA

By

D. P. SAKALANI

The tradition, along with an unbroken historical continuity, covers a wide spectrum of the socio-cultural life of the people. It has flourished and grown in the temple, the court, and the community, and in many periods of history, the tradition existed simultaneously at all these centers and levels. The pattern in several countries has been the movement of the tradition from the temple to the community, and from community to the temple. This has influenced the material and nature of the tradition in many ways.

There are four main aspects of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition- the oral, the performing, the religious and the pictorial tradition. These four aspects of the tradition co-exist, overlap, inter-mingle and promote mutual exchanges; and it is in this very complex interaction that we can understand its true nature and its role in arts and life of the people of the Asian continent. In most studies and researches so far, this close and integral relationship between the various aspects has not been fully appreciated, and the tradition has often been studied in its different aspects, isolated from one another.

In the study of the literary tradition, the role of the oral tradition has been ignored. In fact, very little work has been done in the field of the oral tradition, which is fundamental for a proper study of the tradition. While in many parts of India the rich and living oral tradition co-exists along with the literary tradition, it survives in many parts of India in folk performances. *Rammān* is such a folk performance of the Chamboli district in Garhwal Himalaya, which is a repository of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. The pictorial tradition also has close links with that of the oral and performing tradition. Murals depicting *Rāmāyaṇa* themes portray the characters as per their description in the oral tradition. The thematic contents and artistic elements of the temple-reliefs can often be explained by referring to the oral tradition of the region, and in some cases to the performing tradition of the epic. In the performing tradition of the epic, the art of recitation is basic; and while having ritualistic significance, it also serves an important dramatic function. The performing tradition of the epic was born the day recitation was born, and recitation was born the day the epic was born. However, in the Garhwal Himalaya, the recitation and performing tradition was born quite late. It is only a few centuries back, that the *Rāmalīlā* performance started in

Uttaranchal Himalaya. Almora in Kumaon region witnessed the first *Rāmalīlā* performance in 1860 A.D.¹, while in the Pauri district of Garhwal, it started only around 1905-6 A. D.². The *Rammān* of the Chamboli district seems to be comparatively an earlier tradition of the medieval times of Indian History.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition came to the Garhwal Himalaya with the Vaishnavite saints, and it seems that Śaṅkarācārya prepared the land for the same. Śaṅkarācārya's visit to Joshimath and Badrinath is a well-established historical fact. He promoted *Vaiṣṇava-bhakti* in the central Himalayan region of Garhwal. The general assumption is that the tradition of *Rāma-bhakti* started in Garhwal Himalaya in the early medieval times. The depiction of Lord Rāma as a deity in the Central Himalaya sculpture started around 9th century³ and by 12th century we generally find Rāma's depiction in almost all *Vaiṣṇavite* sculptures.⁴ Inscriptional evidences suggest that the ruling Katyūri dynasty of Garhwal was aware of the legendry tales of Rāmas ancestors. A copper inscription of a Katyūri king Padmadeva mentions the names of Sāgara, Pṛthu, and Rāmabhadra with great respect⁵. This shows that the Katyūri rulers of Garhwal and Kumaon region were aware of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story.

Rāmānuja (eleventh century), a great *Vaiṣṇavite* saint, was an ardent preacher and propagator of Rāma-worship. He visited Badrinath and during his visit to this region, he made remarkable contribution in promoting Rāma worship. He founded the *Srī* cult, and coined the sacred mantra "*Om Rāmāya Namaḥ*", and it was due to his efforts, that Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temples were constructed in Central Himalaya during the medieval times⁶. The well-dressed and designed status of Rāma and Sītā were carved at *Rāmānujakot* near Pandukeshwar⁷. This very place *Rāmānujakot* was founded as a centre for disseminating the *Rāmāyaṇa* myth and Rāma worship. It was from here, that Ānanda Tīrtha sent these statues to Jagannathpuri in 1246 A.D.⁸. But it is very surprising that despite these references by certain regional historians and a few scholars of *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition⁹, the archaeological evidences available so far do not corroborate these claims, although the visits of the *Vaiṣṇava* saints to Himalayan region, especially to Badrinath, seems to be a historical fact.

Rāmānanda, a great devotee of Rāma, preached and propogated *Rāma-bhakti* with an ardent zeal. He, both, as a teacher and a preacher, became well known all over northen India, especially in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. It was during his visit to north Indian region of Garhwal in 1455 A. D.¹⁰, he laid the foundation of a cult for Rama worship in north India¹¹. He founded a sub-sect '*Rāmavatī*' which became well known among *Rāmabhaktas*. Though a *brāhmaṇa* and a scholar, he broke the caste barriers and his liberal attitudes towards lower castes found a fertile land for his ideas to germinate in central Himalayan society where caste rigidity has

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never been as much as in other parts of India. Consequently, the *Rāmāvat* sect became a prominent religious institution for promoting the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. Tulasidāsa, the composer of *Rāmacaritamānasa*, has been held in great esteem all over northern India. During his preaching and propagation of Rāma-bhakti, he visited many Vaiṣṇava sites. Tulasidāsa visited Badrinatha temple and during the same visit he also stayed at Devaprayāga and worshipped at Raghunātha temple¹². Thus, due to the efforts and visits of *Vaiṣṇava* saints, the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition grew as a major religious tradition in Central Himalayan region of Garhwal. Tulasidāsa, the composer of *Rāmacaritamānasa*, has been held in great esteem all over north India. He also played a prominent role in strengthening Rāma worship and *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition¹³. On way to Badrinath he was welcomed at the court of Garhwal King in Srinagar¹⁴. About a century later Medhakara Shastri, a learned Sanskrit scholar, patronized by Pradeep Shah, ruler of Garhwal (1717-72 A.D.), composed *Rāmāyaṇa-Pradīpa*¹⁵. The book deals with *Rāmāyaṇa* story but starts with a prologue of 47 verses in praise of king Pradeep Shah and his forefathers. The *Rāmāyaṇa-Pradīpa*, on the one hand, is a clear evidence of the king's devotion to Rāma and, on the other hand, he wanted to prove that his rule was as just and good as that of Rāma. The composition of *Rāmāyaṇa* story was current in the society and popular among the people. The political elite in Himalayan society thus used the tradition for their personal glorification.

The *Khākī* sect and *Vairag* in made a commendable contribution in strengthening the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition in the Central Himalayan¹⁶ region. Śrī Ānanda, the 12th disciple of Rāmānanda, founded the *Khākī* sect. Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition flourished in the Himalayan region of Garhwal.

II

Rāmāyaṇa Tradition and the Performing Arts: We have seen a brief historical evolution of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition in central Himalayan region of Garhwal. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition also provided themes for performances.

Rammān -- The theatrical performance of *Rāmāyaṇa* story started by the villagers of a few villages near Joshimath in Chamboli district, the exact date of which is not known. But on the basis of folklore, this development seems to be of medieval times. *Rammān* is a term given to the annual re-enactment of the life of Rāma. It seems that the tradition was quite widespread in the beginning, but now it has been confined to mere tableaux in a few villages only.

There are so many mask characters common to other deities; owing to the

dominance of *Rāmāyaṇa* theme, the cycle is called *Rammān*. The myths, tales and legends do not refer to Rama's sojourn in this area. These rather locate the locales of Rāma's history in the region itself.

The traditional narrators of Rāma's history are lower caste people, called *Bhalladāsa*. On the 12th and 13th day of *Baisākh* (25-26th April) every year, they are invited to sign the ballad based on the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in local Garhwali dialect. Their knowledge of *Rāmāyaṇa* is purely based on folk memory, and is hereditary. Therefore, there are ample chances of interpolation and distortion at every level of knowledge sharing. In their song, the villagers give them company too. Like *Rāmalilā*, *Rammān* is not rendered through dialogues. The medium here is dance supported by the ballad. The lifetime of Rāma and his people is danced out in eighteen *tālas*. A *tāla* is made up of five beats of drums and corresponding dance rhythms. The *tālas* are punctuated by other mask dancers like *Mwār*, *Mwārin*, *Banyā-Basnyān*, *Khelwārī* etc. at a fixed fixture. All such characters have nothing to do with *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition. They are absolutely for the purpose of entertainment and might have been included at some later stage. Originally the *Rammān* must have been a purely religious tradition based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* story in order to promote *Rāma-bhakti*, which included certain folk characters just for entertainment at later stage. The counting of *tāla* is done by a person deputed for this purpose. He sits by the arena and goes on drawing lines to count the *tālas* and to co-ordinate the entry of other characters. This is how the people in the villages of Chamboli district have kept the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition alive by their folk performances.

Rāmalilā : *Rāmalilā* is another popular mode of keeping *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition alive among the society. People generally believe that Tulasidāsa was the originator of that form of *Rāmalilā*, which is performed nowadays in the Hindi speaking region of India¹⁷. While discussing the religio-dramatic tradition of the medieval times, Kunwar Chandra Prakash Singh writes, "Although the tradition of *Rāmalilā* is very old yet it has undergone several changes due to the circumstances and also at the hands of eminent persons as to its form and technique." In his book entitled 'Gosain Tulasidāsa' V. N. Mishra has stated that, there is no doubt, that the Rāma story and the tradition of dramatic performances of based on the classical literary plays, is very old. Tulasidāsa took it upon himself to propagate *Rāmalilā*. He planned it in such a way that it became popular throughout the Hindi speaking region of India. In this way Tulasidāsa is the originator and propagator of the modern form of *Rāmalilā*¹⁸.

As mentioned earlier, Tulasidāsa visited Badrinath and his visit might have sparked off the *Rāmalilā* performances in the Garhwal Himalayan region. The theatrical presentation of *Rāmāyaṇa* story in the form of *Rammān* might be credited to

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Tulasidās. As far as the *Rāmalīlā* performance in the region is concerned the recorded evidences are quite recent¹⁹. The schedule and pattern of *Rāmalīlā* is different in the villages of Garhwal Himalaya as compared to cities and urban areas. *Rāmalīlā* in the village is not performed as usual in the month of October; rather it is performed in May or June or even in January. During May-June, it is performed at the night but in January it is a daytime affair. The medium of dialogues in some of the villages is mixed Hindi-Avadhī, picked up from *Tulasī Rāmacaritamānasa*. In the majority of villages the dialogues are in local Garhwālī dialect taken from a *Garhwālī* version of *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulasidāsa. The *Rāmalīlā* performances have a regional impact. It is natural that a dramatic performance extending over such a large part of the country must have some local variations, but the remarkable fact is that all these variations show inherent oneness. There are many styles of presenting *Rāmalīlā*. One of the old styles of *Rāmalīlā* is pantomimic, full of tableaux and processions. The second style is dialogue based. Different situations of the Rāma story are rendered into suitable dialogue form and then a literary text is prepared of the dramatic versions of all situations. Dialogues from literary sources other than *Mānasa* and songs are used for the preparation of the text. *Rāmalīlā* in Garhwal is performed in this style.

Another traditional style of *Rāmalīlā* is operatic, which goes back not more than a hundred years. In this style the recitation from the *Mānasa* is set to classical *rāgas* and the dialogues are also delivered in songs. They include *bhajan*, *dādarā*, *thumarī*, *gazal*, etc. Operatic *Rāmalīlā* is performed in Kumaon Himalaya.

Rāmakathā: The *Rāmāyaṇa* story is also recited in a few villages of Garhwal region. The narrator is not a scholar of *Rāmāyaṇa* but an illiterate villager who inherits the knowledge of *Rāmāyaṇa* from his forefathers. The mode of presentation is poetic and in the local dialect. In the month of April, and again in August every year, the *Rāmakathā* is organized in the village temple. Before starting *Rāmakathā* the local deities are invoked, the drummers beat drums, the priest of the temple offers prayer to local deities. Thus, after pleasing local deities and obtaining their permission, the narrator of *Rāmakathā* starts singing verses and this goes on for one month, till *Rāmāyaṇa* story is complete. The story, thus, has so many additions and interpolations, which seem to be the imagination of the narrator.

Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Painting: The *Rāmāyaṇa* story has attracted not only the poets and the dramatists, but also the artists. The oral as well as the written tradition found visual representation in art, right from early time. At the early stage, only some isolated incidents, which captured the imagination of people, were delineated. The narrative representation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, showing the sequence

of events seems to have come into existence first during the Gupta times. At later times, say from c. 10th century A.D., when the cult of *Rāma* worship developed, the group representation of *Rāma*, *Sītā* and *Lakṣmaṇa* attended by *Hanumān*, was done by the artists to evoke faith in *Rāma* and *Sītā*. These phases are successive, but not completely exclusive. The Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* was difficult for many to read and understand. So the visual representation of the scenes went a long way to satisfy the religious urge of people. The high ideals of *Rāma*, the intrigues in the royal family of *Ayodhyā*, yet the brotherly affection of *Rāma* and his brothers, *Rāma*'s exile, the abduction of *Sītā*, her ordeal, a short period of conjugal love of *Rāma* and *Sītā*, her banishment in the *Āśrama* of *Vālmiki* and ultimately her disappearance into the mother earth, are stirring events, which easily lent themselves to representation in art.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* story also motivated painters in the Himalayan region. A few wall paintings in some of the temples, produced under the Garhwal School of art chose their theme from *Rāmāyaṇa*. On the right bank of *Yamunā* about 50 km. west of Dehradun city at Paonta, stands the *Rāma* temple, constructed in 1889 A.D. The temple is dedicated to Lord *Rāma* as the chief deity. On steps like pedestal, marble idols of *Rāma*, *Sītā* and *Lakṣmaṇa* are placed in the square shaped *garbha-gr̥ha* or sanctum-sanctorum, entered through a simple *maṇḍapa* or portico opening on three sides. The interior of *Rāma* temple presents a gallery of once upon a time excellent wall paintings of *pahārī* style in his last phase. The main theme of the murals of *Rāma* temple has been derived from *Rāmāyaṇa*; especially its *Uttarakāṇḍa* part. It seems, that the artists took interest in the scenes related to the *Aśvamedha Yajña*, or horse sacrifice by *Rāma*, after the exile of *Sītā* from *Ayodhya* and the battle which ensued between *Lava-Kuśa* and the army of *Rāma* for the possession of the stallion of *yajña* released by the latter, to claim the horse. The scenes are repeated on each of the walls²⁰.

The *Gurudwārā Guru Rāma Rai* ²¹, dedicated to the memory of the Sikh guru, who founded the city, has the longest gallery of murals in the valley. Besides, wall paintings on a variety of subjects and stray scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* can also be witnessed here. All of them have been painted during the late half of the 19th century. In *Gurudwārā* complex, the exterior wall has two paintings on *Rāmāyaṇa*. One depicts two aspects of the same episode. In one *Sītā* is standing with a bowl of alms outside the hut in the forest for giving it to the *sādhu* (medicant), who is none other than *Rāvaṇa*, the king of *Lanka* in disguise, having come to kidnap her. The second part shows *Rāma* chasing a golden deer (*Mārīca*) followed by his younger brother *Lakṣmaṇa*.

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On the *Jandhā* gate of Darbār Guru Rāma Rai,²² one can see a few panels with murals, depicting the exploits of young Rāma in the company of sage Viśvāmitra, wherein he is shown destroying the demons. In one, he is killing a female demon Tārakā with arrow and Viśvāmitra is pointing at her. Yet another shows Rāma with his foot over a naked body listening to the sage, while the latter is pointing to female figure flying away. A *mallāḥ* (boatman) is watching them. One mural shows bejeweled Sītā with a garland of flowers in her hand, sitting between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who are equally bejeweled. The scene is a part of the marriage ceremony. Their round faces with large staring eyes and still pose show an inferior hand. Their dress is entirely *Mughal*²³. Another panel shows Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa dresses in green leaves, which look much like scales of a fish, with similar features, coming across the wounded *Garuḍa*, the eagle.

Wall paintings on the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme also existed on *Mahant's samādhi* (the memorial of the mendicant) and private houses in the Doon valley, but bulk of them have been destroyed due to negligence or under renovation of the house fronts. Local mason painters, who were not expert in the art, rendered a majority of them. Hence we notice prominent folk quality in them. For example, on the under-side of the arch over the main entrance of a private house, we see different characters from *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān was, both auspicious and popular.

Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Sculpture: We have seen, that the depiction of *Rāmāyaṇa* story by the painters in Central Himalaya is not earlier than the 19th century. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* hero, Rāma and other characters, especially Hanumān, found a place in the sculptures of back in 12th century A.D. and afterwards. Although the worship of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu was started and promoted in India, mainly by the Guptas. The *Daśāvatāra* temple (550 A.D.) at Deogarh, Jhansi district, Uttar Pradesh, was embellished with many scenes from the lives of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. For *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, details are available in Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report²⁴. Literary evidences also confirm the worship of Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* calls Viṣṇu, *Rāmābhīdhāna Hari*. The glory of Rāma as a divine being has been sung by many a later poet and saint, several of whom made Uttar Pradesh their home and visited Garhwal Himalaya, as has been discussed earlier. Due to this development, Rāma found place in the temples of the Himalayan region of Garhwal and Kumaon. The first such evidence is available from Almora district where a 12th century stone temple at the right bank of river Kali in village Kuwanli, popularly known as the Badrinath temple, is the seat of a Viṣṇu idol. Around the main idol, measuring 116 cm. high and 95 cm. broad, located at the sanctum-sanctorum, the ten incarnations

of Viṣṇu are depicted, Rāma being one of them²⁵. There are other such examples available from Kumaon and Garhwal temples depicting Rāma and Hanumān as deities. The Ādibadri temples on the Badrinath road in district Chamboli, as per local tradition, were built by the efforts of Śaṅkarācārya, some time in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. or in the first decade of the 9th century A.D. According to another version, propounded by historians and archaeologists, the Katyūrī rulers built the temple in the 10th century A.D. Among the group of sixteen temples, the Badrinārāyaṇa temple is the main one. The image of Viṣṇu in this temple is made of black stone, measuring 144 x 83 cm. On the two sides of the halo of Viṣṇu are *Kinnaras* and *Vidyādhara*s followed by other decorative figures. The incarnations of Viṣṇu are depicted around the main image. The first band on the right of the main figure comprises of an incarnation of Viṣṇu subsequented by *Varāha* and Rāma figure. This Viṣṇu image showing Rāma incarnation is supposed to be of the 10th century A.D.²⁶. There are other Viṣṇava temples of later dates presenting Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Garhwal-Kumaon regions of the Himalaya. Thus, the archaeological evidences confirm the propagation of *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition in Himalayas way back in 10th century A.D., whereas the oral and folk tradition puts the date back in the 7th century A.D.

Rāmāyaṇa Tradition and Religion in Central Himalaya: The impact of *Rāmāyaṇa* on the religious life of the Central Himalayan society is deep and historical, as has been already mentioned. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Hanumān and Garuḍa (eagle) all are deities and worshipped widely without any caste barriers. There are temples of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Sītā and Hanumān. In this connection, mention may be made of Sītā worship.

Sītā-Worship and Mansār Fair: It is not that the hero of *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma is worshipped everywhere in the Central Himalayan region. There are pockets, where Sītā worship is dominating the scene and Rāma is criticized for his unjust and unsympathetic attitude to Sītā. The *Sittyonsyūn Pattī* (an administrative unit of 15-20 villages) of Pauri Garhwal district is known for Sītā worship since 16-17th century A.D. The people here have strong grudge against Rāma and their goddess is Mātā Sītā. As a mark of respect to Sītā and as per folklore they associate Sītā to this place and claim that after Sītā's exile by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa left her here. The folklore claims that the incident of Sītā's demise into the lap of earth took place at *Mansār* village of *Pattī*, and that is why this *Pattī* is named after Sītā as *Sittyonsyūn*. At least four temples dedicated to Mātā Sītā are built here, the earliest being of the 18th century A.D. In commemoration of Sītā, the people here organize a fair every year on the 11th day after Dīpāwali. The *Mansār Mela* as it is known, is promoting

the cult of Sītā worship in this particular area. Lakṣmaṇa is also venerated here and a Lakṣmaṇa temple of 18th century A.D. is also standing here among a group of Vaishnavite temples at Deval, a nearby village.

Thus, on the basis of above evidences and arguments, we can surmise, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition, though not very old in the area, has deep impact upon the Central Himalayan society.

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MISCELLEANEA

ON ĀRYABHATA'S PLANETARY CONSTANTS

By
SUBHASH KAK

1. Introduction

An old problem in the history of Indian science is whether ideas at the basis of Āryabhata's astronomy were borrowed from outside or were part of India's own tradition. This problem was first raised in the context of the now discredited thesis that sound observational astronomy did not exist in India prior to India's encounter with the West. Thus in a recent paper,¹ Abhyankar argues that "Āryabhata's values of *bhagaṇas* were probably derived from the Babylonian planetary data". But Abhyankar makes contradictory assertions in the paper, suggesting at one place that Āryabhata had his own observations and at another place that he copied numbers without understanding, making a huge mistake in the process.

In support of his theory, Abhyankar claims that Āryabhata used the Babylonian value of 44528 synodic months in 3600 years as his starting point. But this value is already a part of the Śatapatha altar astronomy reconciling lunar and solar years in a 95-year *yuga*. In this ritual, an altar is built to an area that is taken to represent the *nakṣatra* or the lunar year in *tithis* and the next design is the same shape but to a large area (solar year in *tithis*), but since this second design is too large, the altar construction continues in a sequence of 95 years. It appears that satisfactory reconciliation by adding intercalary months to be lunar year of 360 *tithis*, amounted to subtracting a certain number of *tithis* from the 372 *tithis* of the solar year, whose most likely value was 89 *tithis* in 95 years.²

The areas of the altars increase from $7 \frac{1}{2}$ to $101 \frac{1}{2}$ in the 95 long sequence in increments of one. The average size of the altar is therefore $54 \frac{1}{2}$, implying that the average difference between the lunar and the solar year is taken to be one unit with $54 \frac{1}{2}$, which is about 6.60 *tithis* for the lunar year of 360 *tithis*. This is approximately correct.

Considering a correction of 89 *tithis* in 95 years, the corrected length of the year is $372 - 89/95 = 371.06316$ *tithis*. Since each lunation occurs in 30 *tithis*, the

number of lunation in 3600 years is 44527.579. In a Mahāyuga, this amounts to 53,433,095. In fact, the number chosen by Āryabhaṭa (row 1 in Table 1) is closer to this number, rather than the Babylonian number of 53,433,600. One may imagine, that Āryabhaṭa was creating a system, that was an improvement on the earlier altar astronomy.

Table 1 presents the Babylonian numbers given by Abhyankar, together with the Āryabhaṭa constants related to the synodic lunar months and the revolutions of the lunar node, the lunar apogee, and that of the planets. It should be noted, that the so-called Babylonian numbers are not actually from any Babylonian text, but were computed by Abhyankar using the rule of three on various Babylonian constants.

Table 1 : Revolutions in one Mahāyuga

Type	Babylonian	Āryabhaṭa
Synodic lunar months	53,433,600	52,433,336
Lunar node	-232,616	-232,352
Lunar apogee	486,216	488,219
Mercury	17,937,000	17,937,020
Venus	7,022,344	7,022,388
Mars	2,296,900	2,296,824
Jupiter	364,216	364,224
Saturn	146,716	146,564

We see, that no numbers match. How does one, then make the case, that Āryabhaṭa obtained his numbers from a Babylonian text? Abhyankar says, that these numbers are different because of his (Āryabhaṭa's) own observations, "which are more accurate." But if Āryabhaṭa had his own observations, why did he have to "copy" Babylonian constants, and end up not using them, anyway?

Certain numbers have great discrepancy, such as, those of lunar apogee, which, Abhyankar suggests, was due to a "wrong reading of 6 by 8", implying in opposition to his earlier view in the same paper, that Āryabhaṭa also had his own observations - that Āryabhaṭa did not possess his own data, and that he simply copied numbers from some manual brought from Babylon!

The Āryabhaṭa numbers are also more accurate, than Western numbers as in

the Work of Ptolemy.³ Given all this, there is no credible case to accept the theory of borrowing of these numbers from Babylon.

Abhyankar further suggests that Āryabhaṭa may have borrowed from Babylon the two central features of his system: (i) the concept of the Mahāyuga, and (ii) mean superconjunction of all planets at some remote epoch in time. In fact, Abhyankar repeats here an old theory of Pingree⁴ and van der Waerden⁵ about a transmission from Babylon of these two central ideas. In this paper, we show that these ideas were already present in the pre-Siddhāntic astronomy and therefore, a contrived connection with Babylonian tables is unnecessary.

2. The Indic tradition of *yugas* and superconjunctions

In the altar ritual of the Brāhmaṇas,⁶ equivalences by number connected the altar area to the length of the year. The 5-year *yuga* is described in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, where only the motions of the sun and the moon are considered. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the 95 year cycle to harmonize the solar and the lunar years. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also describes an asymmetric circuit for the sun⁷, which the Greeks speak about only around 400 BC.

Specifically, we find mention of the nominal year of 372 *tithis*, the *nakṣatra* year of 324 *tithis*, and a solar year of 371 *tithis*. The fact that a further correction was required in 95 years indicates that these figures were in themselves considered to be approximate.

In the altar ritual, the primal person is made to an area of 7 1/2 *puruṣas*, when a *puruṣa* is also equated with 360 years leading to another cycle of 2700 years. This is the Saptarṣi cycle which was taken to start and end with a superconjunction.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.4.2.23-24 describes that the Ṛgveda has 432,000 syllables, the Yajurveda has 288,000 and the Sāmaveda has 144,000 syllables. This indicates that larger *yugas* in proportion of 3:2:1 were known at the time of the conceptualization of the Saṁhitās.

Since the nominal size of the Ṛgveda was considered to be 432,000 syllables (ŚB 10.4.2.23) we are led to the theory of a much larger *yuga* of that extent in years since the Ṛgveda represented the universe symbolically.

Elsewhere, I show⁸ how the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa serves as a coordinate system for the sun and the moon in terms of the 27 *nakṣatras*. Such a coordinate system

implies a calculation where whole cycles are subtracted from large numbers. Such modular arithmetic appears to lie at the basis of the idea of a superconjunction. Traditionally, the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa has been dated around 1350 B.C., but a new paper by Narahari Achar⁹ argues for a much earlier date of 1800 B.C.

Van der Waerden¹⁰ has speculated, that a primitive epicycle theory was known to the Greeks by the time of Plato. He suggested such a theory might have been known in the wider Indo-European world by early first millennium B.C. With new ideas about the pre-history of the Indo-European world emerging, it is possible to push this to an earlier millennium. An old theory may be the source, which led to be the development of very different epicycle models in Greece and India.

The existence of an independent tradition of observation of planets and a theory thereof as suggested by our analysis of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa helps explain the puzzle, why the classical Indian astronomy of the Siddhānta period uses many constants, that are different from those of the Greeks.

3. More on the Great Year

Since the *yuga* in the Vedic and the Brāhmaṇa periods is so clearly obtained, from an attempt to harmonize the solar and the lunar years, it appears that the consideration of the periods of the planets was the basis of the creation of an even longer *yuga*.

There is no reason to assume that the periods of the five planets were unknown during the Brāhmaṇa age. I have argued that the astronomical numbers in the organization of the R̥gveda indicate with high probability the knowledge of these periods in the R̥gvedic era itself.¹¹

Given these periods, and the various *yugas* related to the reconciliation of the lunar and the solar years, we can see how the least common multiple of these periods will define a still later *yuga*.

The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas speak of the *kalpa*, the day of Brahmā, which is 4, 320 million years long. The night is of equal length, and 360 such days and nights constitute a "year" of Brahmā, and his life is 100 such years long. The largest cycle is 311,040,000 million years long at the end of which the world is absorbed within Brahman, until another cycle of creation. A return to the initial conditions (implying a superconjunction) is inherent in such a conception. Since the Indians and the Persians were in continuing cultural contact, it is plausible, that this was how this old tradition became a part of the heritage of the Persians. It is no

surprising then to come across the idea of the World-Year of 360,000 years in the work of Abū Ma shar, who also mentioned a planetary conjunction in February 3102 B.C.

The theory of the transmission of the Great Year of 432,000 years, devised by Berossos, a priest in Babylonian temple, to India in about 300 B.C., was advanced by Pingree.¹² But we see this number being used in relation to the Great Year in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself, a long time before Berossos.¹³

The idea of superconjunction seems to be at the basis of the cyclic calendar systems in India. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of a marriage between the Seven sages, the stars of the Ursa Major, and the Kṛttikās; this is elaborated in the Purāṇas, where it is stated that the Ṛṣis remain for a hundred years in each *nakṣatra*. In other words, during the earliest times in India, there existed a centennial calendar with a cycle of 2,700 years. Called the Saptarṣi calendar, it is still in use in several parts of India. Its current beginning is taken to be 3076 B.C.

The usage of this calendar more than 2000 years ago is confirmed by the notices of the Greek historians Pliny and Arrian who suggest that, during the Mauryan times, the Indian calendar began in 6676 B.C. It seems quite certain that this was the Saptarṣi calendar with a beginning which starts 3600 years earlier than the current Saptarṣi calendar.

The existence of a real cyclic calendar shows that the idea of superconjunction was a part of the Indic tradition much before the time of Berossos. This idea was used elsewhere as well, but given the paucity of sources, it is not possible to trace a definite place of origin for it.

4. Conclusions

More than thirty years ago, Roger Billard showed¹⁴ the falsity of the 19th century notion that India did not have observational astronomy. His analysis of the Siddhāntic and the practical *karāṇa* texts demonstrated that these texts provide a set of elements from which the planetary positions for future times can be computed. The first step in these computations is the determination of the mean longitudes which are assumed to be linear functions of time. Three more functions, the vernal equinox, the lunar node and the lunar apogee are also defined.

Billard investigated these linear functions for the five planets, two for the sun (including the vernal equinox) and three for the moon. He checked these calculations against the values derived from modern theory and he found, that the texts

provide very accurate values for the epochs, when they were written. Since the Siddhānta and the *karāṇa* models are not accurate, beyond these epochs deviations build up. In other words, Billard refuted the theory, that there was no tradition of observational astronomy in India. But Billard's book is not easily available in India, which is why the earlier theory has continued to do rounds in Indian literature.

Āryabhaṭa's constants are more accurate than the ones available in the West at that time. He took old Indic notions of the Great Yuga and of cyclic time (implying superconjunction) and created a very original and novel *siddhānta*. He presented the rotation information of the other planets with respect to the sun, as was done by śighroccas of Mercury and Venus for the inferior planets, which means, that his system was partially heliocentric.¹⁵ Furthermore, he considered the earth to be rotating on its own axis. Since we don't see such an advanced system amongst the Babylonians prior to the time of Āryabhaṭa, it is not reasonable to look outside of the Indic tradition or Āryabhaṭa himself for the data on which these ideas were based.

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POLITICAL HISTORY AS AN INTEGRAL STUDY OF POLITICAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

By

SHANKAR GOYAL

Since the beginning of the Indological studies in modern times history writing of ancient India proceeded on two tracks-first, the discovery, study and interpretation of the original sources and, second, the changing attitudes of the historians. From the point of view of their attitudes it is convenient to divide the historians who wrote before India became independent into two broad categories- those who directly or indirectly supported British interests and those who opposed those interests. However, in recent years the Marxist view of history has also increasingly become popular in India and many works of singular importance have been produced on ancient Indian history by eminent Marxist historians. They have undoubtedly tended to enlarge the vision of our traditionalist historians. The Marxist approach to Indian history, however, often implies the application of modern criteria to ancient India. Though it has served as a corrective for the over-sentimentalized and over-spiritualized accounts of ancient India, but it is feared, it is tending to err in the opposite direction. Professor D.D.Kosambi had himself protested that some of the so-called Marxists conveniently forget that Marxism is not a substitute for thinking but is a methodology of analysis and that their application of dialectical materialism to the interpretation of the history of India is grossly mechanical rather than critically discerning.

However, restricting ourselves to the writing of political history in India one finds that till the 1960s it was dominated largely by the deeds and dates of kings with the result that in the age of mass democracy, in which we are living, it tended to lose its popularity. Actually the most damaging criticism leveled against the traditional form of political history in the West also has been that it is elitist in content, that it lays too much emphasis on kings and heroes, and that it pays too much attention to political events, military conquests and chronology. This criticism obviously could be levelled even with greater force against modern writings on ancient Indian political history, for these deal with nothing except chronology, wars and conquests of great kings. But by the middle of the twentieth century voices began to be raised against this type of political history writing in India also. Among them who raised their voices were not only Marxists but such scholars as well who gave emphasis on an integral view of history. Both of them realized the need of formulating a new approach to political history though their idea about this approach differed. The Seminar on 'Problems of Historical Writing in India'

organized by the India International Centre, New Delhi, in 1963, was one of the early attempts in this direction. In this Seminar many scholars of Marxist and non-Marxist persuasion participated, though by that time Marxist school had not acquired much popularity. Most of the participants in that Seminar, including Professor Nurul Hasan, A. K. Narain, Romila Thapar, V. S. Pathak and T. V. Mahalingam felt, that political authority with a view to discovering the motivations of political life, and recognizing that the components of political power has social, economic and religious bases.

The emphasis on a new type of political history soon attracted the attention of some younger scholars. Among them was included my esteemed father Prof. S. R. Goyal who was then a young teacher in the University of Gorakhpur. There he worked under the supervision of Professor V. S. Pathak for his Doctoral dissertation on the political history of the imperial Guptas. Professor Pathak suggested to him that instead of devoting his attention on the questions 'who', 'when' and 'what', that is genealogy, chronology, wars and consequents, etc. of the Gupta rulers he should work on 'why' and 'how' problems analysing the factors and forces which conditioned the nature of and shape of political events, and that was what he did. The result was his thesis, *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (1967) which soon acquired recognition and admiration of scholars as a model of 'New Political-History'. The method and approach to the political history of the Guptas advocated in this work was articulated by him in several of his papers and was followed in his subsequent works on political history of various other periods of ancient India. Meanwhile, the integral view of political history was becoming increasingly popular in the Indian historical world. After all Professor Goyal was probably one of the many who had adopted this approach. In 1992 was published *Political History in a Changing World*. It was an edited work (its eds. being Professor G. C. Pande, Dr. S. K. Gupta and myself) containing a lead-paper *Need of a New Approach to the Writing of Political History of Ancient India* by my father alongwith reactions-papers of over 50 scholars of India and other countries, including Professors A. K. Narain, G. C. Pande, A. K. Warder, David N. Lorenzen, V. S. Pathak, B. N. Mukherjee, Sibesh Bhattacharya, A. M. Shastri, Lallanji Gopal, Mubarak Ali, etc.

I also made some humble contributions in this field. In 1992 I published my research work (not Doctoral dissertation) entitled *History and Historiography of the Age of Harsha*. Probably it was the first work on the age of Harsha, which was mainly concerned with 'how' and 'why' questions. It sought to study the political history of the post-Gupta period with multidisciplinary integral approach. Then in

2001 I brought out a monograph entitled *An Integral Approach to the Political History of Ancient India* in which the application of this approach to the various periods of ancient Indian history, as made by various scholars has been highlighted.

Now to return to the nature of Integral View of History. When in the Western world scholars became aware of their own dissatisfaction with the traditional political history dealing mainly with 'when', 'who' and 'what' questions they sought to transform the very concept of political history.¹ The dictum of Jacques Pirenne that "the true aim of historical research is a knowledge of the factors, that control men living in society"² seems to have become acceptable, at least on a tentative basis, to the majority of them for their investigations. This definition implies, that the different aspects of history cannot be studied in isolation from one another but only as facts of an integrated reality, and that the focal point of history is not an individual, however great he may be, but society. If this view is correct, they pleaded, political history can be regarded neither as a mere chronicle of events, nor only as an account of kings and emperors; it should be regarded as basically the study of the political aspect of social life. Actually both of them are woven into a variegated texture by various elements which in the pattern are inextricably joined. In such a view of political history, as Herbert Butterfield argues, society "is not merely a picture of still life or a kind of background to the story, that is being told- a massive piece of scenery to be described in an introductory chapter or mentioned on occasion in parenthesis. It is an active collaborator in the work of history-making; and for that very reason it turns out to be at all times an important source of historical explanation."³ In such a view political history becomes the study of political activity in its situational context, of the functioning of the centers of political authority with a view to discovering the motivations of political life and recognizing, that components of political power have social, economic and religious bases. Benjamin Schwartz had this kind of political history in mind when he argued that "a political historian must welcome all the aid which economists, demographers, anthropologists and others can provide to help him to understand the situation in which political action takes place".⁴ That is why he believes that political history involves "conscious activity set within the framework of all the problems, pressures and constraints imposed by the objective situation."⁵ According to Le Goff also, the new kind of political history, the one that is concerned with 'long term structures', involves the study of the various semeiological systems belonging to the science of politics : vocabulary, rites, behaviour and mental attitudes. He feels that not only does the new science of politicology now contribute its concepts, vocabulary and methods, but geopolitics, political sociology and political anthropology all give political history nourishment and support.⁶

How political history of ancient India can be revolutionized with the help of other branches of knowledge may be illustrated by a few examples. There was a time, for instance, when archaeology was regarded as nothing but a handmaid of history, as if its sole aim was not more than to provide raw material for the historian. That view is now a thing of the past; now archaeology enjoys a status of its own as one of the important disciplines contributing its share to the unearthing of the story of man. History and archaeology cannot afford to ignore each other, and yet flourish. For example, today pottery has lost its importance in our life because vessels of copper, bronze, stainless steel, plastic etc. have replaced earthen household pots. But for the ancient period pottery forms the ABC of archaeological interpretation. It has proved to be the best of the indices of cultural changes in a society. Pottery has its own 'styles', which have been changing from age to age. Its material, shape, colour, texture, decoration, moulding, burning and treatment - to be short, its 'feel', have as many variations as the styles of an art object; and for a historian, trained in field-archaeology, it is not difficult to single out pottery of one period from another. Thus, a graph of Indian pottery through the ages can be very revealing and helpful in determining political chronology. By a careful study of a detailed graph or series of graphs and correlating this information with other data, changes in the social and economic fabric of society may be traced and they in turn may be related with political changes.

Similar is the case of education, which in the Indian context appears so much unrelated with and separate from political history. But education is power and also an instrument of power. Therefore, a study of the power-elite of a society must include in its ambit a study of the educated class and its impact on political life. In ancient India, at least in the age of Buddha and that of Harsha, and probably those of the Guptas and Rajputs also, it is possible to collect biodata of a large number of educated people of the greater part of the country and classify them into regional, caste and religious groups. Further, in some cases their association with the ruling class may also be determined. Thus, some idea of the role of the educated class and its impact on society and the state may be worked out. In Europe this branch of historical investigation, called prosopography or collective biography, has been developed during the last four decades into one of the most valuable techniques for historical investigation especially after the researches of Charles Beard, A. P. Newton, R. K. Merton and Lewis Namier.⁷ It is used as a tool, with which to attack two of the most basic problems of history. The first is concerned with the roots of political action : the uncovering of the deeper interests, that are thought to lie beneath the rhetoric of politics; the analysis of social and economic affiliations of political machine and the identification of those, who pull the levers. The second is concerned with social

structure and social mobility.⁸ Unfortunately historians neither of ancient India, nor probably even of medieval and modern India, are thinking in this direction.

Another important branch of knowledge which may be utilized to impart new vigour and relevance to political history is the history of religion. It is generally assumed that the rulers of ancient India by and large followed the policy of religious toleration. With this basic assumption our historians keep themselves satisfied with citing instances which prove that a particular king employed the followers of various religious and sects as his ministers, commanders, etc. But religious toleration has several connotations. On the one hand, it may mean total indifference to all religious rituals and, on the other, it may imply active patronage of a particular sect mixed with a feeling of hostility towards other sects without actually persecuting their followers. Further, the impact of religion on the state could be felt in many ways and through many institutions. For example, it operated through the caste system which determined the nature of the caste composition of state armies, place of priests in the hierarchy of officials, extent and nature of the royal patronage to religious establishments, and also through a king's willingness to follow the advice of a saint such as the Buddha. In any case, religion had much to do with state structure. But this line of enquiry has not been properly pursued except by a few—such as Professor P. V. Kane, U. N. Ghoshal and A. S. Altekar. Even the results of their researches have not been integrated with the general framework of ancient Indian political history.

In ancient India a shift in the center of political power sometimes took place in terms of social groups. Thus we read in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: "To the king (Rājan) doubtless belongs the Rājasūya; for, by offering Rājasūya he becomes the king, and unsuited for the kingship is Brāhmaṇa."⁹ But in the centuries following the disintegration of the Maurya empire there took place a great reaction against the supremacy of Kshatriyas, so much so that Manu, as if in retort to the author of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, declared: "a Brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda deserves to be made a king, a commander-in-chief, the wielder of the power of punishment."¹⁰ That this new principle was concomitant with an actual change in the nature of kingship becomes from the fact that almost all the important dynasties of the post-Mauryan period belonged to the Brāhmaṇa order. Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga synasty, Vasudeva, the Kaṇva ruler, Simuka, the first of the Sātavāhanas and many others—the Kadambas, the Vākātakas and probably the Impereal Guptas as well—were Brāhmaṇas by caste.

The dominance of the Brāhmaṇas in this period is evidenced at various other levels of state structure also. Next to the kingship, the army was the important organ of the caste. Generally speaking in ancient India the right to bear arms was regarded

as an exclusive privilege of the Kshatriyas. But Manu extended this privilege to the Brāhmaṇas.¹¹ Kāmandaka also states, that the priest, minister and nobles are the principal leaders of the army.¹² That the Brāhmaṇas used to occupy the important position of *senāpati* is rendered clear by the epic example of Droṇa and historical example of Pushyamitra. As regards the office of minister, Kātyāyana insists that he should be recruited from the Brāhmaṇa order.¹³ Vasudeva, the minister of Chandragupta II was also *Brāhmaṇa*. Many other examples may easily be collected. The psychology of the militant Brāhmaṇas, who aspired to political power, is best exemplified by Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, who according to the Talagunda inscription, was enraged at the insulting behaviour of a mounted guard and decide to give up the sacrificial ladle for weapons of war.¹⁴

The political history of ancient India can also be enriched by a study of political events against their geographical background. For example, "there seems to be an intrinsic connection between the proprietary right over land and the form of government. The land system in the republican states differed materially from the one found in the monarchical states."¹⁵ Therefore, the expansion of the Magadhan empire and the eventual decline and disappearance of ancient Indian republics cannot be properly understood unless we appreciate the inner contradictions in the economy of the latter. Similarly, the weakness of the tribal republics of the third century A. D. (such as the Lichchhavis and the Mālavas) was apparently caused by their growing attraction to the monarchical form of government without giving up the façade of republicanism. Further, the fact that the Gaṅgā basin was the hearthold of several great north Indian empires, including that of Harsha, was the result of its geographical homogeneity and economic resources. The role of geographical and economic factors is also apparent in the attitude of the north Indian conquerors towards Peninsular India, for while they found it difficult, as Harsha did, to overcome the geographical difficulties involved in the conquest of the trans-Vindhyan region, the wealth of the Deccan, accumulated because of its natural resources, pearl industry and sea-borne trade, lured them to make attempts in that direction. The operation of these twin factors usually resulted in a policy of carrying out military raids instead of making a bid for outright conquest.

The economic factor also conditioned the policy of the northern empire builders towards Western India, the land of Bhṛgukachchha (Bharuch) and Śūrapāraka (Sopārā), which were the main centers of India's trade with the West, and also towards Bengal, the land of Tāmralipti, India's 'Window to the East.' Therefore, without projecting Samudragupta's conquest of the Deccan and Bengal, Chandragupta II's, conquest of Western India and Harsha's conquests both in the East and the

West against the geographical and economic factors, one can hardly assess their actual significance. But so far most of our historians are content with discussions on the identification of the kings defeated by Samudragupta, fixing the date of Chadragupta's conquest of western India and such other problems, while an attempt towards correlating ancient Indian political history with the fruits of the researches in economic history might lead to a tremendous transformation of the former.

Another aspect of new political history is that it has ceased to concern itself only with the elite class, viz., kings, nobles, priests, heroes etc., and has become the history of common people. But this broadening of historical canvas of the discipline does not mean that the importance of political history has declined; instead, it is still the hard core of history. The state still remains the central point of historical investigation. Only, now the scope of politics is not confined to kings and nobles; by becoming the history of the political life of society it has penetrated the vast masses of people. The rise and fall of dynasties, wars, chronology, battles of kings, their political relations, nature of the political organization of their states, administration, causes of their success or failure in establishing a permanent imperial structure, impact of religious policies on their political activities, these and similar problems continue and will continue to occupy the attention of historians. Though political biography of an Aśoka or a Harsha provides, as if a paved road, which may help the student of history enter and explore the dense jungle of the data concerning their respective ages.

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IS SALVATION A NONEXISTENCE IN THE NYĀYA SCHOOL?

By

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Salvation is the ultimate goal of Indian philosophical course. Almost every school of Indian philosophy accepts the concept of salvation as exclusive (*aikāntika*) and the everlasting (*ātyantika*) freedom from suffering by which living beings are afflicted. In Indian philosophy, salvation is considered as a state from where creatures get permanent freedom from suffering and thereby from the cycle of life and death also.

Indian philosophical schools differ on the issue of liberation being a state of pleasure/bliss. The difference of viewpoints is reflected in the writings within the *Nyāya* school also. The general notion about salvation in the *Nyāya* is that it is merely a state of *ātman* where its especial qualities viz. knowledge (*jñāna*) etc. are removed from it for ever and *ātman* comes to its original state which is unconscious (*jaḍa*). Thus, in this notion, salvation is a negative state, which has an absolute non-existence of suffering but no positive pleasure/bliss.

But, from the earlier times, there was a sect in the *Nyāya*, which believed in the existence of pleasure and its sensation in the state of salvation. The scholars of this sect are called '*ānanda-mokṣa-vādins*' at some places. Thus, from their viewpoint, salvation is a positive term.

The present essay is a modest endeavour to highlight especially the standpoint of '*ānanda-mokṣa-vādin*' sect of the *Nyāya*. But before coming to this point, a brief historical survey of the concept of salvation in the *Nyāya* is essential.

Salvation in the ancient *Nyāya*

The very first exposition of the nature of salvation in the *Nyāya* philosophy is found in the two *sūtras* of Gautama- '*bādhana-lakṣaṇam duḥkham*' (*Nyāyasūtra*-1/1/21) and '*tad-atyanta-vimokṣo'pavargah*' (*Nyāyasūtra* -1/1/22). [Pain has the characteristic of causing uneasiness. Release is the absolute deliverance from pain]. Here, commentator Vātsyāyana says that *apavarga* is the permanent cessation of sufferings that is birth. In *apavarga*, not only acquired birth is abandoned but the possibility of

rebirth is also ruled out.¹ In his commentary Vāstyāyana has given five adjectives in the exposition of salvation - 'abhaya' (fearless), 'ajara' (ageless), 'amṛtyupada' (deathless state), 'brahma' (supreme reality) and 'kṣemaprāpti' (attainment of security). Vācaspati Miśra has explained these adjectives very appropriately.² According to him, 'abhaya' signifies that there is no fear in the state of salvation. The term 'ajara' shows that *apavarga* is different from the state of *brahma* which is supposed to be changing into different names (*nāma*) and forms (*rūpa*) by some people (*brahma-pariṇāma-vādins*). The term 'amṛtyupada' is used to differentiate 'apavarga' from 'nirvāṇa' of Buddhism. In the state of 'nirvāṇa' the chain of knowledge (*vijñāna-santati*) ceases just as a lamp extinguishes. But 'apavarga' is not such a death-like state. The last two adjectives (*brahma* & *kṣemaprāpti*) have not been explained. Perhaps, the term *brahma* has traditionally been used for salvation. But, it must be considered different from *brahma* of *Advaita-Vedānta*. The term *kṣemaprāpti* refers to the cessation of suffering.

In the *Nyāya* philosophy, from the very beginning, there were two main views regarding salvation.

1. Salvation as absolute negation of sorrows

(*duḥkhātyantābhāvarūpa mokṣa*)-

The Naiyāyika scholars, who supported this view, were following the aphorism of Gautama literally. Thus, considering the literal meaning of *tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargaḥ* (*Nyāyasūtra*- 1/1/22), they interpreted salvation as absolute negation of suffering. The main supporters of this view were Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, Vācaspati Miśra, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa etc. For them, since there is an invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) between pleasure and pain, pleasure cannot exist without pain.³ Therefore, they have denied the existence of any quality of the soul viz. pleasure, knowledge etc. in the state of salvation. According to Jayanta, destruction not only of pain, but of all the special qualities [knowledge (*buddhi*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*duḥkha*), desire (*icchā*), aversion (*dveṣa*), volition (*prayatna*), merit (*dharma*), demerit (*adharma*) and tendency (*saṁskāra*)] of *ātman* is essential for salvation, because, annihilation of suffering is not possible without it.⁴

The concept of salvation in the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy is almost the same.⁵

Now, it is obvious that in the *Nyāya* tradition, most of the scholars accepted salvation as a negative term. They must have had great philosophical fight against the *Vedāntins* and all those, who believed salvation as a positive term. Perhaps, this fight would have paved the way to establish nonexistence as a distinct real entity in

the later *Nyāya* because, without establishing nonexistence as a distinct real entity the state of salvation cannot be explained properly.

2. Salvation as revelation of eternal pleasure

(*nityasukhābhivyaktirūpa mokṣa*)-

The *Naiyāyika* scholars of this philosophical sect considered literal meaning (*abhidheyārtha*) as well as intended meaning (*tātparyārtha*) of the aphorism of Gautama. Thus, by *tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargaḥ* (*Nyāyasūtra*- 1/2/22), they interpreted salvation not only as permanent cessation of suffering, but also as revelation of eternal pleasure. Therefore, in their view, the permanent cessation of suffering qualified by the revelation of eternal pleasure is the nature of salvation. With this concept, these scholars emphasized on the positive nature of salvation.

Though this concept of salvation in the *Nyāya* has resemblance with the concept of salvation in the *Advaita-Vedānta*, there is a basic difference between the two. In the latter, salvation (*mokṣa*) is synonymous with Brahman and truth (*sat*), consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*) are the nature of salvation. But, in the former, salvation is a state in which the pleasure that is eternally inherent in the *ātman* is revealed. In the state of metempsychosis (*saṁsārāvasthā*), this eternal pleasure cannot be revealed because of the obstacles of demerit (*adharma*) etc. In this way, it is clear that *brahmātmā*, *ānanda* and *mokṣa* are the same in *Advaita-Vedānta* school. But according to the *ānanda-mokṣa-vādin* sect of the *Nyāya* school, pleasure (*dharma*) is eternally inherent in the *ātman* (*dharmin*) and the *Nyāya* school accepts difference of property (*dharma*) and substratum (*dharmin*).

Proofs in the existence of the *ānandamokṣavādin* sect of the *Nyāya* school.

The following facts indicate that there was a philosophical sect in the *Nyāya* school, which believed in the doctrine of revelation of eternal pleasure in salvation (*nityasukhābhivyaktivāda*).

1. Explaining the aphorism of Gautama *tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargaḥ* (*Nyāyasūtra*- 1/1/22), Vātsyāyana says in his commentary - "*nityaṁ sukhāmātmāno mahattvavān mokṣe vyajyate, tenābhivyaktenātyantaṁ vimuktaḥ sukhī bhavati iti kecin manyante, teṣāṁ pramāṇābhāvād anupapatīḥ, na pratyakṣaṁ nānumānaṁ nāgamo vā vidyate nityaṁ sukhāmātmāno mahattvavān mokṣe vyajyate.*" Here 'kecin manyante' signifies that there was a sect in the *Nyāya* school before Vātsyāyana, which accepted revelation of eternal pleasure in the state of salvation.⁶

2. Mādhavācārya mentions an interesting anecdote in 'Śaṅkṣepaśaṅkarajaya' in which a Naiyāyika-scholar asks Śaṅkarācārya the difference between the nature of salvation in the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* schools. Śaṅkarācārya replied him that in Kaṇāda's school, salvation is the state in which *ātman* remains like ether after the permanent dissolution of all the especial qualities of it. But in Gautama's school along with the sensation of pleasure, the same state of *ātman* is called salvation.⁷ Here, according to Śaṅkarācārya, the *Nyāya* school believes in the existence of pleasure and its sensation, that is, knowledge (*jñāna*) in the state of salvation. This description of Mādhavācārya cannot be absolutely baseless.

3. The same difference between the nature of salvation in the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* schools is mentioned in *Sarva-darśana-siddhānta-saṅgraha*.⁸

4. 'Saugata-sūtra-vyākhyāna-kārikā' also proves, that Gautama was *ānanda-mokṣa-vādin*- "*duḥkhasyātyantavimokṣaḥ syād apavarga iti bruvan sukṣmadhigamyam ānandam upekṣya āha Gautamaḥ*."⁹

5. Bhāsarvajña, the great Naiyāyika scholar of ninth century, has quoted an old traditional verse in which a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu says - "I would rather choose to become a jackal in the beautiful Vrindavan than to attain salvation where there is no pleasure. Gautama doesn't want to get salvation without any object (*nirviṣaya*)."¹⁰

This verse clearly proves that Gautama did not accept salvation, as an absolute nonexistence of suffering. He believed in the positive nature of salvation.

The points mentioned above prove the existence of a sect in the *Nyāya* school, which supported the doctrine of revelation of eternal pleasure in salvation. This sect must have been there before Vātsyāyana approximately since second century B.C. and would be surviving up to the days of Mādhavācārya because he has mentioned it. It appears that this sect did not have many followers and most of their writings did not survive. This is the reason behind the wrong notion, spread amongst modern scholars, that the nature of salvation in the *Nyāya* school is just negative.

Bhāsarvajña's exposition of salvation.

Bhāsarvajña was a great *Naiyāyika* scholar in the last quarter of ninth century. He is known for his works 'Nyāyasāra' and auto-commentary called 'Nyāyabhūṣaṇa'. Bhāsarvajña appears as an acute thinker who proceeds towards his conclusion with systematic and compact reasoning. Though, evidently a follower of the *Nyāya* school, he deviates from the tradition in his views on *upamāna* (comparison) and salvation etc. He draws freely from his predecessors in the *Vedānta* and the *Yoga* and adapts

some of their doctrines in the spiritual scheme of the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika*. Since he is the only known scholar, who belongs to the *ānanda-mokṣa-vādin* sect of the Nyāya school, the essay would be incomplete without giving his exposition of salvation.

Bhāsarvajña accepts salvation as the permanent cessation of sufferings qualified by pleasure, which is experienced for ever- *nitya-saṁvedyamānen sukhena viśiṣṭā ātyantikī duḥkhanivṛttiḥ puruṣasya mokṣa*.¹¹ Though pleasure and (*viśaya-viśayī-bhāva*) cannot be there in the state of metempsychosis *adharman* etc. creates obstruction in making the position of predicate & subject *viśaya-viśayī-bhāva* between pleasure and its sensation just as a wall between the eye and the pitcher creates obstruction in making contact between them.¹²

Through *sādhana* as prescribed in the *Nyāya*, a *sādhaka* can break the wall of demerit (*adharma*) etc. to experience the eternal pleasure forever. Just like destructive negation (*pradhvaṁsābhāva*), if once the position of predicate & subject (*viśaya-viśayī-bhāva*) between pleasure and its sensation is made, it will remain forever. Several sentences from different *śrutis* and *smṛtis* can be quoted as verbal testimony to prove the existence of pleasure in the state of salvation.¹³ Moreover, if revelation of eternal pleasure in salvation is not accepted, there would be no justification for the inclination of wise persons for salvation¹⁴, because it is a natural human tendency to incline towards attainment of pleasure. This exposition of salvation given by Bhāsarvajña provides a clear picture of the doctrine of revelation of eternal pleasure in salvation (*nitya-sukhābhivyakti-vāda*).

Here, this is an interesting fact that the *Naiyāyikas* including Bhāsarvajña have never used the word '*ānanda*' (bliss) in place of the word '*sukha*' (pleasure). Since the *Naiyāyikas* are realists, they can never propound something, which is beyond the range of common experience. Therefore, using the word '*ānanda*' (bliss) in place of the word '*sukha*' (pleasure) they have displayed their realistic approach. It should be noted that those (*Vedāntins*), who consider bliss (*ānanda*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) as the nature of *ātman*, for them it would be easy to accept salvation as the state where *ātman* comes to its natural form. They would easily give justification for the inclination of wise persons for salvation. Those (*ānandamokṣavādins*) who consider permanent inherence of pleasure (*sukha*) and its sensation (*tat-saṁvedana*) in *ātman*, for them too, the case would be the same. But those (the *Vaiśeṣika* and the main branch of *Nyāya*) who consider neither bliss (*ānanda*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) as the nature of *ātman*, nor permanent inherence of pleasure (*sukha*) and its sensation (*tat-saṁvedana*) in *ātman*, cannot give appropriate justification for people's inclination for salvation. Any wise person would not like to attain a state where there is no pleasure and no consciousness. Who would like to drift in a coma-like state?

The dilemma of the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* is how to be consistent with its conceptual scheme and explain the concepts, identity of soul, its bondage and liberation. If the *Vaiśeṣika* scheme is followed, then the soul is admitted as a substance (*dravya*) with common and exclusive qualities. The later classical accounts describe the soul as eternally equipped with common qualities viz. number, size, etc. In the state of bondage, the soul associated with the body formed with the substances (*dravya*) and mind (*manas*), obtains some exclusive qualities, under varying conditions, namely, knowledge (*buddhi*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*duḥkha*), desire (*icchā*), aversion (*dveṣa*), volition (*prayatna*), merit (*dharma*), demerit (*adharma*) and tendency (*saṁskāra*). Under these exclusive qualities, both pleasure and pain are included. Both are qualities essentially different from the soul, which is a substance. Thus, being its views on the common life experiences, the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* doesn't admit either pleasure or pain as innate or identical with the soul. In bondage, the soul experiences pleasure and pain at different times. In salvation it doesn't experience either of these. This is consistent with the doctrine that in liberation no exclusive qualities arise in the soul.

Despite this consistency, the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* is faced with problems of ontology as well as of life values (*puruṣārtha*). In its ontology the soul stands to loose factors (exclusive qualities) in liberation, thereby losing its difference from the substances ether, space, and time owing to common qualities. Then, how would the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* distinguish the soul from other ubiquitous (*vibhu dravya*)?

In bondage, the soul experiences not only pain, but also pleasure. One might, therefore, discard liberation as a life value (*puruṣārtha*) for its lack of pleasure. Some traditional rivals of the school have stated this.

If the scheme of the *ānandamokṣavādin* sect of the *Nyāya* school is followed and accordingly, if it is accepted, that pleasure (*sukha*) and its sensation (*tat-saṁvedana*) are eternally inherent in *ātman*, then problems of ontology as well as of life values (*puruṣārtha*) would be solved. But, in this case another problem would be created. Then, what would be the logic in considering permanent inherence only of pleasure and its sensation in the soul but not of other qualities like pain etc. Quoting sentences from different *śrutis* and *smṛtis* as verbal testimony can not appease those who don't accept the authority of the *Veda*. Another important point is that if *ānandamokṣavādins* accept permanent inherence of pleasure and its sensation in the soul, then why don't they consider pleasure and knowledge as the nature of *ātman*? They cannot do so because this is the dividing line between dualism and non-dualism. Otherwise, the foundation pillar of dualism would be demolished and non-dualism would be established. This is the old and endless conflict whether property (*dharma*) and substratum (*dharmin*) are same or different.

Notes:

1) “*tena duḥkhena janmanā atyantavimuktirapavargaḥ katham, Upāttasya hānam anyasya cānupādānam. Etām avasthām aparyantām apavargam vedayante apavargavidaḥ, tad abhayam, ajaram, amṛtyupadam, brahma, kṣemaprāptiriti.* - Vāstyāyanabhāṣya on Nyāyasūtra-1/1/22.”

2) “*abhayamiti punaḥ saṁsāra-bhayābhāvam āha. ye tu brahmaiva nāma-rūpa-prapañcātmanā pariṇamata ityāhuḥ tām pratyāha ajaramiti. vaināsikāḥ prāhuḥ pradīpasyeva nirvāṇam mokṣaḥ tasya cetasa iti, tām amṛtyupadamiti*”. - Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā on Nyāyasūtra- 1/1/22.

3) “*sukham duḥkhāvinābhāvi*” - Nyāyavārtika on Nyāyasūtra- 1/1/21.

4) “*yāvadātmaguṇāḥ sarve nocchinnā vāsanādayaḥ, tāvadātyantīki duḥkha-vyāvṛttir-nāvakalpyate*” - Nyāyamañjarī, Apavarga-parīkṣā, Āhnika-IX

5) ‘Bhāratīya Darśana : Ālocana Evam Anuśilana’, by C. D. Sharma, p. 171.

6) Though Prof. Ramamurti Sharma quotes it as Vedānta’s view point (Bhāratīya Darśana kī Cintanadhārā, p. 186), Mahāmahopādhyāya Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa accepts it as the viewpoint of one of the Naiyāyika sects (Nyāya-paricaya, p.11). Anantalal Thakur also infers the existence of *ānanda-mokṣa-vādin* sect in Nyāya from this statement of Vātsyāyana- “He refers to the ‘*ānanda-mokṣa-vādins*’, who survived up to the days of Mādhavācārya. Bhāsarvajña of Kashmir subscribed to this view”. (Some Lost Nyāya-Works & Authors).

7) “*tatrāpi naiyāyika ātta-garvaḥ kaṇāda-pakṣāc caraṇākṣa-pakṣe, mukter viśeṣaṁ vada sarvavic cet nocet pratijñāṁ tyaja sarvavittve. atyanta-nāśe guṇa-saṅgater yā sthitir nabhovat kaṇabhakṣa-pakṣe, muktis tvadite caraṇākṣa-pakṣe sānanda-saṁvīt-sahitā-vimuktiḥ.*” (Saṅkṣepaśaṅkarajaya- 16/68-69)- footnote of Nyāya-paricaya, p. 13.

8) Mahamahopadhyaya Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa has supported this view very logically. (Nyāya-paricaya, Second Chapter, p. 13).

9) Nyāyabhūṣaṇa : A Lost Work of Medieval Indian Logic, footnote.

10) Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, p. 598.

11) “*sukha-saṁvedanayor nityatvāt mukti-saṁsārāvasthayor aviśeṣa-prasaṅga iti cet, na, cakṣur-ghaṭayoḥ kuḍyāderiva sukhasaṁvedanayor viśaya-viśayi-bhāva-sambandha-pratyanīkasya duḥkhadeḥ saṁsārāvasthāyām sadbhāvāt tannāśe ca muktāvasthāyām bhavati sukhasaṁvedanayoḥ sambandha ityato nāviśeṣaḥ*”. - Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, p. 598.

12) “*vijñānam ānandaṁ brahma*” (Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-2/9/34) This is one of the several sentences quoted by Bhāsarvajña in Nyāyabhūṣaṇa (Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, p. 594)

13) “*tasmāt prekṣāvatām pravṛtṭyanyathānupapatteḥ sukha-samvittir muktasya abhyupagantavyā*” - Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, p. 564.

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VEDIC CULTURE IN COMPARISON WITH INDO-EUROPEAN COMMON CULTURE

By

HUKAM CHAND PATYAL

0.1 An attempt is made in this paper to make comparison of the Vedic material culture with that found in the other IE languages. The concept of IE is primarily a linguistic one, yet it formed an essential part of that culture, and it can give a faithful reflection of it. Through comparative and historical linguistic methods, we can establish the concept of common IE material culture.

0.2 In this paper we shall restrict ourselves only to the terms denoting material culture. (phonological, morphological, lexical and semantic correspondence among IE languages enable us to reconstruct PIE form of the terms under discussion).

1.0 The subsistence economy of IE society is primarily based on breeding of live-stock and agriculture. Cattle raising is well established in IE vocabulary.

1.1 In Sanskrit the term *paśú* (also *páśu*) *m.* is a collective term, which includes domestic animals such as horses and cattle, see e.g. *sárvaṁ pañéḥ sám avindante bhójanam áśvavantam gómantam ā paśúm nárah* (RV. 1.83.4); also *sánat sā áśvyam paśúm utá gávyam śatāvayam* (RV. 5.61.5) The term *paśu* even includes man, who is treated as a biped *paśu*, on par with the quadruped *paśu* (RV. 3.62.14) *sómo asmábhyam dvipáde cátuṣpade ca paśáve anamīvā iṣas karat*. In *Śat. Br.* (6.2.1.2) five *paśus* are: 'man, horse, ox, sheep and goat'.

The Avestan expression *pasu vīra* designates the totality of private movable possessions, whether *henam* or animal, the men being sometimes included in *paśu* (*pasu*) but sometimes mentioned separately. In Avestan *kamna-fšu* 'who has few *pasus*', and *kamna-nar* 'who has few men', reference is made to Zarathustra (Y. 46.2), Avestan *pasu vīra* 'live-stock men', here *vīra* may stand for house personnel, domestics (Benveniste 1973:41). In Umbrian we have a similar expression *uiro pequo*, which designated the men, whose task it was to look after the live-stock.

We provide some cognate forms of the word from IE languages: Skt. *paśu*, Av. *pasu*, Khotanese *pasa* 'small animal'; Sogd. *psw*, Middle Pers. *pāh*; Baluchi *pas*, Ossetic *fas* 'sheep'; Lat. *pecu*, Goth. *faihu*, OHG *fihu*, Lith. *pekus*, Old Purssion

peaku. PIE **peku* (see Mayr. II. 239-40; III. 754; CDIAL 7984).

Benveniste (1973: 40 f.) argues, that **peku* originally meant 'personal chattels, movables', in certain IE languages it came to mean 'live-stock', 'smaller live-stock', and 'sheep'. He derives it from **pek-* 'to shear'. The 'live-stock' is a contraction of the term 'movable wealth', a principal form of property in a personal society.

In IE language, we have cognates for sheep. E.g. Skt. *avi* f. sheep; Gk. *o(u)lis*; Lat. *ovis*; Old Irish *oi*; OHG *ouwi* (pronounced as *owi*) Lith. *avis*; Luwian *hawī*; English *ewe*; Skt. *avikā* ewe; Old CS *avica*. We can have PIE **ovi* (nom. *ovis*) (see Mayr. I. 59; III. 635; Thieme 1964: 589-90; Gonda 1971:198; Mallory 1989:111; CDIAL 887).

The word for 'lamb' are also attested in a number of IE languages. Skt. *uraṇa*; Gk. *aren*; New Pers. *barra* (← **varnāk*). We can have PIE **Waren* (but Thieme 1964: 593 **veren/uren/urn*) (See Mayr. I. 108; Thieme 1964: 593; Wyatt 1970: 99; CDIAL 2349).

The words for 'wool' are attested in a majority of IE languages. Skt. *ūrṇa* f.; Old CS *vluna*; Lith. *vilnos* (pl.); Gothic *wulla*; Latin *lānā*, Av. *varna*; Loth. *vilna* (Mayr. I.116; III.652; Thieme 1964:593; CDIAL 2424). PIE **vlna*.

In many IE languages we have the words for 'wolf'. Skt. *vṛka*; Av. *vehrka*; New Pers. *gurg* (← Old Pers. **verka*); Khot. *birgga*; Sogd. *wyrk*; Kurdish *varg*; Shughni *wūrj*; Lith. *vilkas*; Old CS *vlbko*; Toch B *walkwe*; cf. Gk. *lukhos*; Lat. *lupus*; Goth. *wulfs* (Mayr. III. 240-1, III. 795; Mallory 1989: 157; CDIAL 12062). PIE **wlkwo*.

2.1 It is quite interesting, that the words, meaning 'honey' are attested in a number of IE languages, of course with different connotations. We cite here a few examples. Skt. *madhu* n. 'honey, mead, Soma' etc.; Av. *madu* 'wine'; Sogd. *mow*; Ossetic *mud* 'honey'; New Pers. *mai* 'wine'; Gk. *methu*, Old Irish *mid*, OHG *metu*; Lith. *medus*; Old CS *medo*; Toch B *mit* 'honey'. PIE **medhu* (Mayr. II-570-1; III.774; CDIAL 9784). In Celtic and Germanic it means 'mead'; in Indic and Baltic it means 'honey or mead'; in Avestan it means 'alcoholic drink'; in Gk. it means 'wine'; in Toch. and Slavic it means 'honey' (see Mallory 1989:275; n.20(1)).

2.2 The tree *bhūrja* m. 'birch' (mostly *Betulus alba*) has its cognates in many IE languages. Slavic *breza*; Baltic *berzas*; Russian *bereza*, Osseti *barz* (← *barza*); OHG *biriha*; Old Norse *bjork*; Lat. *farnus*, *fraxinus*. PIE **bherHgo* (see Mayr. II.514-5; III. 771; Friedrich 1970:14 and 26-31). Its MIA and NIA cognates are Pali *bhūja*; Pkt.

bhujja; Hindi bhoj (cf. *bhaurja, see CDIAL 9570). Vedic bhūrja is iligned with Classical Skt. bhrājate it shines, and Ossetic *barza with Av. braz to shine, and brāza to glitter, flesh, shine (see Patyal 1979:116).

2.3 Skt. *vasna* n. (RV. 4.24.9) 'purchase, price'; *vasnayate* denom. (actually attested form is *vasnayāt*, a participial form, RV. 6.47.21) 'to haggle, to bargain'; and *vasnya* adj. (RV. 10.34.3) 'precious, valuable'. In Gk. *onos* furnishes the verb *oneomai*, while American gin (cf. *wesno*) a verb is derived, which is phonetically *gnem* 'I buy'. Latin *venum* is connected with *venum dare* 'to sell', and *venum ire* 'to go for sale, to be sold'. Latin phrase *venum dare* has produced *vendere* 'sell'. IE *wesno* itself cannot be anything other, than a derivative. We must posit a prehistoric root *wes*. This root is present in Hittite *wasi* 'he buys'. From this root is derived the Hittite *usnayazi* 'he sells'. These Hittite facts confirm the presence of *wes* in IE vocabulary. In sogdian and Pahlvi we find *wacarn* 'market street' (cf. *wahacarana*) (*wah*-cf. **wes*). The compound word denotes the place, where one circulates to make purchases, the bazaar (see Benveniste 1973:101-2; cf. Mayr. III.177; III.792).

3.0 From the foregoing discussion we can safely conclude, that some of the items pertaining to material culture are widespread in many IE languages. Some PIE forms connected with the vocabulary pertaining to live-stock, flora, and fauna etc. can be reconstructed without utmost ease.

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MAHIMNASTAVA EDITED BY PROF. NORMAN BROWN: SOME OBSERVATIONS

By

K. S. ARJUNWADKAR

[Abbreviations used : Ms = manuscript; Mss = manuscripts.]

Bio-data of the work

‘The Mahimnastava, or Mahimnastotra, an ode in praise of Shiva’s greatness’, a critical edition of the Sanskrit work of that name by W. Norman Brown, was published in 1964 to mark the opening of the American Institute of Indian Studies in Pune, India. By a mere chance, I opened up a copy of this edition recently, which I procured long ago and was lying idle among my books. The occasion for the accidental discovery was my desire to ascertain a reading in the ode, which I had memorized in my young age and mutter to myself occasionally. As I opened it, I was inspired to read it from the first to the last stanza minutely with special attention to its grammar and the editor’s translation. I was pleased to find a modern scholar of Sanskrit of the stature of Prof. Norman Brown was attracted to a popular, devotional literary piece for a serious study and delivered a lecture on it in Madras in 1963. It was Prof. Raghavan’s incidental suggestion on this occasion, that prompted him to bring out the present edition, as the editor’s Preface dated 20 September, 1963 informs.

A hardbound book of a large size (demi/4) but rather small in extent (less than a hundred pages, about half the pages giving reproductions of pictures in a Ms), the Mahimnastava is a luxuriously produced and systematically prepared critical edition based on several Mss, prefixed with an Introduction and suffixed with useful appendices, giving the Sanskrit text in Devanāgarī and its English translation by the editor face to face on the left and the right pages respectively. The latter half of the book contains black-and-white reproductions on art paper, of pictures, one for each stanza written by the side of the picture, in an illustrated Ms from Baroda Museum. Besides, there are four full colour pages of the Ms elsewhere in the book, giving the reader an idea of how the Ms looks. On the basis of a large number of Mss, the editor has arrived at the authentic version of the text consisting of 31 stanzas, to which were added, from time to time and in varying numbers, stanzas imitating conventional conclusion of such literature as well as giving the mythical background of the literary piece, as discussed in the Introduction. It is unusual to find in the Mss material

an inscription of the *stotra* on stone walls in the Amaleśvara temple in the premises of the Omkāra-māndhātā temple in Central India. On the basis of the date of this inscription and occurrence of stray verses from the *stotra* cited in other Sanskrit works, the *stotra* is assigned to a date prior to the 9th C. A.D. It is a 'curious coincidence' that comparable conclusions were arrived at by another scholar from Calcutta, Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, in a paper presented to All India Oriental Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in 1959. A letter from the said Professor bringing this strange coincidence to the notice of the editor reached his hands which he has reproduced at the end of his Introduction.

The *stotra* is ascribed to one Puṣpadanta in the concluding verses, which on the authority of the majority of Mss, are added later and, hence, given as an appendix. Puṣpadanta is mentioned in these verses as the lord of the class of mythical semi-divine beings called Gandharvas, who was also a devotee and / or a servant of Śiva. Puṣpadanta is said to have composed this *stotra* to regain the favour of his master who, out of anger, had removed him from his favoured position. The main body of this *stotra* consisting of 31 verses is composed in the *Śikharinī* metre, with 17 syllables in a quarter with the following scheme in terms of the conventional triads and singles: *ya-ma-na-sa-bha-la-ga* (i.e. lggggglllllglllg; where l = laghu, g = guru). It is not an easy metre to compose poem in; it demands a perfect mastery over the language. It is, nevertheless, manageable in Sanskrit which provides ample scope for the use of synonymous words and their combinations. Like the Bhagavad-gītā and the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, this *stotra* has inspired a number of poets of varying abilities to compose similar literary panegyric pieces in praise of other deities obviously echoing the one under reference. The one addressed to Viṣṇu imitates it even in its name: the Viṣṇu-mahimnaḥ-stotra. Though composed in the same metre as its ideal, the later is easier to understand, thanks to the sympathetic outlook of the latter's author, Brahmānanda, towards his readers.

The title

This is only to give a background of the text under discussion. What I am particularly concerned with is not so much the technical aspect of the text as with the actual composition thereof from the point of view of its grammar, arrangement of words and interpretation. I start with the name 'Mahimnastava' used consistently by the editor at several places, starting with the title page. The illustrated Ms reproduced in the work clearly mentions the name of composition as Mahimnaḥstotra. Even if the substitution of 'stava' for 'stotra', both the words being synonymous, is conceded as possible in some Mss, the absence of an 'h' between the two constituents of the compound word that makes the name is a serious slip, as no word like

'*mahimna*' ending in *a* is available in Sanskrit. What is meant in the name of the *stotra* is obviously '*mahinmah*', genitive singular of '*mahiman*' (*m.*), meaning greatness, with which the *stotra* begins. It is not unusual in Sanskrit tradition to find names of *stotras* coined from the first word thereof (cp. *Acyutāṣṭka*). In the current case, the genitive case form (*mahimnaḥ*), explains its syntactical relation with the following word (*stotra*) as well, giving the whole expression the appearance of an *aluk* compound (cp. *geheśūra*). When, later, imitating *stotras* were composed in praise of other deities like Viṣṇu, the word 'Śiva' was possibly prefixed to the name to distinguish it from compositions under names and in styles, similar in character. Actually the word 'Shiva's' in English translation on the facing page (# 9) does presume the existence of such a prefixed element. A minor, though not negligible, point can be raised when the name 'Mahimnastava' appears at the top of the actual Sanskrit text starting on p. 8. Logically and conventionally, it should appear with Sanskrit case-ending as '*(mahimnaḥ)stavaḥ*'. What the reader finds is the word stem without the case ending, as if it were a word in an English sentence.

The text

I now turn to the actual text. For the sake of convenience, I will, in the following discussion, use Arabic figures separated by a dot to indicate the stanza and its line. (4 lines in a stanza).

1.3: The reading '*(svamati-)pariṇāmāvadhi*', translated as 'up to the limit of his own intellectual development.' In my memorized version, the word '*pariṇāma*' occurs as '*parimāṇa*', a case of an interchange of letters (scribal 'metathesis') yielding different words in use. The picture of the page of this stanza no doubt supports the reading printed. But considering the possibility of the scribe's error common in Mss, I would prefer my reading meaning 'measurement, size', the resulting translation being, 'up to the limit of the size of his own intellect'. Nevertheless, I admit that the reading '*pariṇāma*' is supported by a cognate in stanza 31, viz. '*pariṇati*', where no alternative reading is possible. The author employs the word *pariṇata* in the sense of 'mature' in verse 26.

3.1, 3: The first quarter contains a genitive phrase that can syntactically qualify '*tava*' or '*suraguror*' in the second quarter. The translator takes it to qualify the second, but this connection is not supported specifically by a corresponding myth. The contrast would be more emphasized if it is taken to qualify the first. The entire last quarter except its first word (*punāmi*) is redundant, - *nirarthaka*, as would have been labeled by Mammaṭa, author of the renowned work in poetics, the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

4.4: Object of the infinitive ‘*viḥantum*’ is missing. The word ‘*asmin*’ in the third quarter, being in the locative case, cannot be considered as its object. In fact, nothing is lost if the infinitive is left out. The syllable ‘*ḍa*’ in ‘*jaḍadhiyaḥ*’ is marked with a dot under it as in Hindi. When dotted, it is pronounced rather differently. No such distinction exists in Sanskrit. Could it be an unconscious effect of a dot in the corresponding Roman representation of the sound?

5.3: The word ‘*dustho*’ needs to be corrected as ‘*duḥstho*’. Compare this case with that of the title above referred to.

6.3: Can we read ‘*-jananam*’ for ‘*-janane*’ to make up the absence of an object for ‘*kuryād*’? It may be a reading slip founded on the marks for *e* and an *anusvāra* in Devanāgarī being easily mutually confused. The translation appears to treat the verb as intransitive. It is possible to relate ‘*janane*’ to ‘*anīśaḥ*’, in the sense of incapable (to produce the world); but then the transitive verb ‘*kuryād*’ is left without an object. It is difficult to defend the construction grammatically in either case.

11.1: ‘*vyatikara*’ is obviously a misprint; it has to be ‘*vyatikaram*’

11.3: Lotus as an image is available in Sanskrit for several limbs of the body. This convention makes the author use it twice in the same line leading to the amusing situation of lotuses (heads of Rāvaṇa) being offered to worship lotuses (feet of Śiva). In such cases, it is not so much the convention, as the author’s indiscretion, that stands to blame.

14.3: ‘*na (kalmāṣaḥ)*’ is a misprint; it should be ‘*sa (kalmāṣaḥ)*’. Two ‘*na*’ particles are enough to make the following statement affirmative. A third ‘*na*’ would create a problem.

14.4: Note ‘*-vyasaninaḥ*’. The author is fond of showing Śiva as an addict, of course, to obliging the weaker (#14) and the pious (#21).

16.3: ‘*muhudyau*’ needs to be corrected as ‘*muhurdyau-*’. The reading ‘*anibhṛta*’ translated as ‘flying loose’ presents problems, when viewed against its normal sense, ‘not silent’, ‘loud’. Translating it as ‘frisky’ may solve it. Could it be a misreading for ‘*avirata*’, meaning ceaselessly?

17.3-4: Too involved a construction. Construe: *tena jaladhi valayaṁ* (adj) *jagat dvīpākāraṁ kṛtam*.

21.3: The reading ‘*-bhreṣa*’ for ‘*-bhramśa-*’ is more in keeping with the author’s predilection for unusual words.

22: This verse reflects a myth associated with Śiva, represented by some celestial stars, and challenges all resourcefulness on the part of the reader in relating words separated by a number of other words. The principal statement is: *te rabhasaḥ* (violence) *adyāpi prajānātham na tyajati*. The object *prajānātham* is followed by a number of adjectives and adjective phrases disturbed by the only dissimilar element, *dhanuṣpāṇer* in line # 3 which qualifies *te* in line # 4. In this analysis, I have treated *rabhasaḥ* as an independent word, implying *mṛgavyādha* to be a separate word in vocative, meaning 'O hunter (chasing) the deer!', referring to a group of stars in the sky name *mṛga* (Capricorn) and *vyādha*, a bright star (dogstar or Sirius) representing a hunter in chase of the deer. The editor's translation leaves these words untranslated and treated as if covered by the phrase 'ardour for the chase'. The word chase in this phrase cannot but stand for the original *mṛgavyādha*, but cannot be regarded as its literal sense. If rendered, the compound word *mṛgavyādharabhasaḥ* would mean: '(your) ardour as a hunter of the deer'; it is to be related to: *prajānātham adyāpi na tyajati*, meaning 'does not, even today, let the lord of creatures go'. It is another point to treat *mṛgavyādha* as separate word in vocative, as discussed above and supported by its use in standard works in Sanskrit like Mahābhārata (Vana-parvan). Such a use is justified on the ground, that hunters are specialized in hunting specific animals, - e.g. bird-hunters, deer-hunters etc. Still better alternative would be to slightly emend the word *mṛga* as *mṛgam* as a separate word in accusative and treat it as the object of *tyajati*. Yet another alternative would be to take *vyādharabhasaḥ* as a compound word meaning '(your) ardour of a hunter', in addition to the slightly emended reading *mṛgam*. No other stanza in this *stotra* presents so many problems and their alternative solutions.

23: This is another problematic verse. The translation takes *svalāvaṇyāśamsā* in the very first compound word to refer to *devī* in line 3, and *dhṛtadhanuṣam* to refer to *puṣpāyudham* in line 2, connecting the two elements with the phrase 'in reliance upon' understood. This is against the syntactical principle, that a reflexive element like *sva* of an adjectival compound refers to its substantive, - to *puṣpāyudha*, in line 2 in the present context. Instead, it is taken with *devī* in line 3, making it *vyadhikaraṇa*, having another word as its support. The simplest way to evade this defect is to take *svalāvaṇyāśamsā* as a separate word qualifying *devī* in line 3, and to take *dhṛtadhanuṣam* as a separate word qualifying *puṣpāyudham* as is actually done in translation. The compound *dhṛtadhanuṣam* is un-Pāṇinian; it should be *dhṛtadhanvānam* (cf. Aṣṭādhyāyī V.4.132). But then the metre is disturbed. Again, *api* in line 2 goes with *dhṛṣṭvā*, from which it is removed. It is placed after a word, with which it is not to be connected. This is regarded as a defect in versification known as *akrama*. As an illustration of this defect, Mammaṭa (Kāvyaprakāśa, VII)

cites a verse of no less a poet than Kālidāsa ending with words *tvam asya lokasya ca netrakaumudī* (Kumārasambhava V.71). His brief observation on this line is: *atra tvam śabdānantaram ca-kāro yuktaḥ*.

24: The first word in line 3 reads *amāṅgalyam*, which then requires to be taken as an adjectival compound, *Bahuvrīhi*. This word as in my memory reads *amaṅgalyam*, where *maṅgalya* (*maṅgala+ya*) is an adjective meaning literally 'what promotes auspicious character' making the compound negative- *Tatpuruṣa*. The ultimate meaning remains unchanged, but the second option is simpler.

24.1: The word *savidham* is translated as 'in the prescribed manner', taking the member to be *vidhi*. Actually, it is *vidhā*, meaning mode, variety, making *savidham* mean '(mind) together with its modes'. The translation as it is presumes a word like *savidhi*, which would not fit in the metre.

27.3: The word *avarundhānam* is an active Pres. Part. form of the root *ava + rudh*, and naturally goes with the substantive (*om iti*) *padam*, yielding the meaning '(the word *om*), which covers / contains / holds in' with *padam* as its subject / agent. Strangely, however, it is taken in a passive sense, as if it were *avaruddham*, to go with *padam* as its object, and *dhvanibhiḥ* as its subject / agent, meaning 'enclosed by. . .'

27.4 The phrase *samastam vyastam* can be translated simply as 'collectively and severally' as against 'complete and in your parts' in the printed translation.

29.4: The phrase *tad idam iti* is rendered 'being this universe'. Taking into account the earlier part of the verse, which presents Śiva in his contrasting aspects (nearest and farthest, etc), it would be natural to take this phrase to mean 'being that (incomprehensible) and this (comprehensible)'. It would also be in keeping with the areas of reference the two pronouns indicate. In this context, cf. '*idamas tu saṁnikṛṣṭam.... tad iti parokṣe vijānīyāt*.'

30.3: The reading I am accustomed to is '*sattvodriktau*', meaning 'when the element *sattva* is paramount'. Cp. *bahula-*, *prabala-* in the parallel phrases in the earlier lines. The word *mṛdāya* (no such word exists in Sanskrit) is a misprint; it should be *mṛdāya*, from *mṛda*, a name of Śiva.

31.2: The word *śāśvad* (*ṛddhiḥ*) is clearly a misprint; it should be *śaśvad* (*ṛddhiḥ*). The word *śaśvat* is an indeclinable particle; it gives rise to an adjective, *śāśvata*, if desired. If that is meant, the final sequence of syllables would then be *śāśvatarddhiḥ*. The wording in my memory is *śaśvad ṛddhiḥ*.

Verses given in the *pariśiṣṭa* / Appendix

2.1-3: *munīndai-* is a misprint; it should be *munīndrai-*. In my memorized version, *prathita-* occurs as *grathita-*, and *sakala-guṇa* as *sakala-gaṇa-*. However, I think *prathita* is better reading. The word *gaṇa* stands for a servant / follower of Śiva, and thus makes a better reading.

3.3: *sadātmā* has an alternative reading *sadātra* (*sadā + atra*), where *atra* means 'in this world', and goes perfectly with the following line.

5.2: *mahimnastavapāṭhasya* can be understood in two ways: [a] *mahimnaḥ tava pāṭhasya* (of the recitation of your greatness); [b] *mahimnaḥstavapāṭhasya* (of the recitation of the hymn to greatness). Both are equally acceptable to grammar; in the second option, a *visarga* after the first word is necessary.

8.1: My reading is : *sura-vara-muni-pūjyaṁ* in place of the printed one, *sura-gurum abhipūjya*, which, the latter, is better for the reason that it makes it possible to apply the adjectives of high praise to Śiva; the first reading makes them apply to the *stotra*. In earlier reading, the substantive word, *stotra*, is missing and has to be borrowed from the context.

10: It is clear, that the verse implies some obscene and awkward situation, making a reference to the unclad form of the deity and worship of his phallus by womankind. A pun on the word *puruṣārtha* is not an impossibility. Worship of the stone symbol (*liṅga*) of the phallus in erection as a representative of Śiva is common in all parts of India. The symbol is made more realistic in some representations, cf. 'Wonder that was India' by A. L. Basham, illustration facing p. 105.

11: The verse is cited by Mammaṭa as an illustration of the figure of speech, *kāvya-liṅga*.

15: The second line should read: *pracaṇḍa -pavaneneva ghaṇaṁ jalada-maṇḍalam*.

Conclusion

Like the edition of Śaṅkarācārya's *Saundarya-lahari* (Harvard Oriental Series, 1958), this edition of *Mahimnastava*, a popular Sanskrit *stotra*, reflects the editor's unusual outlook that popular literature, too, deserves scholars' attention. The points of similarity between the two compositions on the points of metre (*śikharipi*) and style suggests some kind of relationship between the two. There are

other compositions that can be favourably compared to the *stotra* under discussion; and a study of all these promises to be an interesting subject of study. I am sorry I did not turn to Prof Brown's present work during his life time, when I could have discussed my points with him. I am, however, happy that I had met this great Sanskrit scholar in the American Institute to present a copy of *Kaṇṭakāñjali*, an anthology of my Sanskrit verses on contemporary life, during one of his visits to the Institute. My article on his work would, I hope, be a fitting homage to his memory.



VIṢṆU IN THE VEDA

By

VISHVANATH KHAIRE

Five whole hymns and part of one are devoted to विष्णु in the ऋग्वेद. The view of scholars has been that विष्णु represents सूर्य the sun itself or as the deity in it. The actions and exploits described in the hymns are explained in terms of the sun's course. Sanskrit and IE-related etymologies are given in support of this view. The lacunae in this interpretation have also been brought out by some. They lead us to consider some other phenomenon behind the myth of विष्णु. As the Veda was composed in India and as विष्णु has attained prime importance in the common Indian culture, etymologies are sought nearer home, in the Indian languages including the South Indian ones; they support the alternative view of Viṣṇu as comet, which provides consistent coordination with the epic and puranic stories relating to the deity.

1. Introduction

Viṣṇu in the Ṛgveda would be a deity only of the fourth rank, celebrated in five whole hymns and in part of another, and his name occurring about 100 times altogether (p. 37-42, Vedic Mythology, A. A. Macdonell, 1889 referred hereafter also). The special traits and characters of the deity are said to be :

* He takes three strides, of which two are visible; the third is beyond the light of birds or mortal ken. He is *urugāya* 'wide going' and *urukrama* 'wide-striding' (1.155, 7.99). He dwells far from this space (7.100).

* In taking the three strides, *viṣṇu* observes laws (1.22). He is both ancient and recent (1.156).

* He is *girikṣit* 'mountain-dwelling' and *giriṣṭhā* 'mountain-abiding', also along with *Indra* (1.154, 155).

* He is allied with *Indra* (only) in his fight with *Vṛtra*, destroyed *Śambara*'s 99 castles and conquered the hosts of *Varcin* (6.69, 7.99, 1.155).

* He is associated with *Maruts*, with whom he speeds along (5.87, 2.34, 8.20).

* He has different forms (7.100). He is protector of embryos (7.36, 10.184).

* He takes the three steps for men in distress (6.49, 8.69).

The purely naturalistic interpretation takes 'the three strides or steps' to mean the rising, culmination and setting of the sun. However, the third step, being the highest, shows no trace of being connected with sunset. Alternatively, they are taken as the course of the sun through the three divisions of the universe. Oldenberg thinks that every definite trace of solar character is lacking in विष्णु, who is conceived only as a traverser of wide space (pp. 38-39 *ibid*).

More evidence against the *viṣṇu*-sun equation can be given. The statement about *Viṣṇu*'s three strides is in the past tense, while the course of the sun is visible every day. (त्रिदैवः पृथिवीमेष एतां वि चक्रमे । ६.४९.१३ । यो रजांसि विममे पार्थिवानि । वि चक्रमे यत्र देवासो मदन्ति ८.२९.७ ।). There are other hymns devoted to *Sūrya* by name, in which the symbolism is obvious and the statements are in the present tense.

One of the exploits of *urugāya Viṣṇu* is stated to be the creation of the sun, the dawns and fire (त्रीण्येक उरुगायो जनयन्ता सूर्यमुषासमग्निम् । ७.९९.४). *Viṣṇu* must therefore be different from these three. The sun is the same visible size throughout his course; *Viṣṇu* is said to have increased in size by his weird powers (परो माया तन्वा वृधान । ७.९९.१ ।)

Etymology

According to Sāyaṇa, *Sūrya* stimulates or drives (सू प्रेरणे । सुवतीति सूर्यः ।), while *Viṣṇu* pervades (व्यापकत्वात् विष्णुः ।). Macdonell infers that विष्णु was originally conceived as the sun, as the personified swiftly moving luminary by derivation from the root विश् 'to be active' (p. 39, italics supplied); त्रिविक्रम is sought from वि-क्रम 'to take strides' उरु in the epithets उरुगाय, उरुक्रम is taken to mean 'wide'.

The phrase 'by derivation from the root' is worthy of careful attention. Words in a language are not derived from roots. Roots, particularly in the Sanskrit etymological tradition, are phonetic abstractions from words. They are assigned meanings to be consistent with the known or imagined meanings of the words. That is how a familiar word like सूर्य would be derived from two roots : सू 'to move' and सू 'to drive, stimulate.' Nineteenth century phonology carried the tradition forward by relating सू to the root स्पर् 'to shine' to Greek *helios* Latin *sol* as cognates. The root स्पर् applies also to स्वर्ग 'heaven', the Greek word relates to brightness and Latin *sol* is present in words denoting *solitude*, loneliness or *sole-ness*. Detailed rules for phonetic relationships between IE languages have no doubt been worked out; the semiotics of the roots or words are however not related.

In spite of acceptance of the premise, that (Vedic) Sanskrit was developed in India in an environment of indigenous languages, etymological relations of Sanskrit words with those in the Indian languages have not been even conceptually consi-

ered, let alone being investigated. The division into language families has especially blocked any scholarly approach to this area. Within the sub-family of IA languages, the traffic of etyma has always been considered one-way: from Sanskrit to the living Indian languages, through degeneration (अपभ्रंश) as per philology and through 'diachronic change' as per modern linguistics. South Indian languages clubbed as 'Dravidian' have been left out of the purview of phonetic and semantic consideration of Sanskrit words. Burrow did initiate their inclusion, but only for those words, for which 'satisfactory' etymologies were not available within the accepted framework.

We can consider the word *Sūrya* itself. From Burrow and Emeneau's Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED), Tamil *cūr* pronounced *sūr* means 'to revolve' and there is a whole list of related words in so many SI languages, Ta. *cūriyan* (pr. *sūriyan*) 'sun', considered a borrowing from Sanskrit, does not find place in the DED. Semiotically, however, 'the revolving' is a far more apt and correct pre-literate description of the sun, than the 'stimulator, driver' of the erudite philosophers.

With reference to *Viṣṇu* we can similarly consider the following DED entries :

Ta. *Viṇ* 'sky, heaven' *viṇṇavar* 'celestial being'

Ta. *vimmu*, *vīṇku* 'become enlarged' Ma. *vīṇṇuka* 'to swell'

Ta. *Vīcu* 'lengthen, stretch' Ma *vīcci* 'fan' (*c* is pronounced *s* also)

Ta. *tiri* 'to turn, revolve, wander about, move, return' *tirivu* 'change'

Ta. *vīkkam* 'enlargement'

Ta. *uru* 'to assume a form, issue forth'

uruḷ 'to revolve' (as a wheel)

Ta. *urai* 'to be reduced into a powder'

ula 'to become diminished'

With slight phonetic variations in forming *udbhramśas* (Sanskrit-sounding forms of borrowings) we can get from the above, the 'Sanskrit' *viṣṇu trivikrama urugāya* to mean 'a celestial being, moving in the sky, enlarging like a fan, being reduced to powder, changing, diminishing, wandering about and returning....', that is, a *comet* (and *not the sun*). It will be seen, that the Sanskrit roots *viś* or *vi* are conceived by analyzing a word formed from nominal words joined together in an agglutinative language. Comprehension of the hymns has been made difficult by the etymological apparatus adopted, as the *ubhramśa* words are used in the hymns in their original sense.

VIṢṆU, the Comet

The correspondence of *viṣṇu* with the comet is not sought to be justified merely by the etymology of the name. The mythical exploits in the hymns can also be explained properly on this basis. Sun, Moon, the stars and planets are familiar appearances in the sky or heaven. It is the *comet*, that appears as a surprise, takes strides, revolves around the sun taking strides and often growing like a fan or diminishing and passing through *three* stages of striding toward the sun, away from the sun and disappearance behind the sun or far away into space, to return later. Quite naturally, the comet became a venerable object of praise and worship. They myth-making metaphors emphasized one or the other of its aspects:

विष्णोर्नु कं वीर्याणि प्र वोचं यः पार्थिवानि विममे रजांसि ।

यो अस्कभायदुत्तरं सधस्थं विचक्रमाणस्त्रेधोरुगायः । १.१५४.१ ।

What exploits may one speak of विष्णु, who raised material dusts

Who scaled the higher region, wheeling round, in thrice changed form.

परो मात्रया तन्वा वृधान न ते महित्वमन्वश्नुवन्ति । ७.९९.१ ।

With body growing beyond measure, mortals do not grasp your magnitude.

(This is the most important difference from the sun, that suggests Vishnu being the comet).

दाधर्थं पृथिवीमभितो मयूखैः । ७.९९.३ ।

You held the earth with rays around.

(Sāyaṇa translates mayūkha as mountain, though the generally accepted sense is ray).

प्र तद् विष्णुः स्तवते वीर्येण मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः । १.१५४.२ ।

It is that विष्णु that is praised, who is awesome in valour like a lion, moving through rough country, a denizen of the mountains. (The simile implies analogy of the lion's mane to the comet's 'tail' or 'fan').

यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेष्वधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा । १.१५४.२ ।

In whose three vast (changing) strides, all the worlds are contained.

द्वे इदस्य क्रमणे स्वददृशोऽभिख्याय मर्त्यो भुरण्यति ।

तृतीयमस्य न किरा दधर्षति वयश्चन पतयन्तः पतत्रिणः । १.१५५.५ ।

Two of the strides of this heavenly vision, mortal man talks of and praises
His third, no one grasps, nor meters failing, nor birds flying.

(According to Sāyaṇa, वयश्चन वेतारो मरुतोऽपि । वयश्चन means birds or *maruts* also *maruts* in the Veda are seen to be meteors ('of the air'). They are stated to be friends of विष्णु, which fits in well with विष्णु as a comet; for meteors are similar to comets in sudden bright appearance and a long spread of tail like extension, gushing through the sky. वि is said to mean 'bird'. From Ta. वि is to burn the alternative meaning 'meteor' could be justified).

चतुर्भिः साकं नवर्ति च नाममिश्रक्रं न वृत्तं व्यतीरवीविपत्
बृहच्छरीरो विमिमान ऋक्भिर्युवाकुमारः प्रत्येत्याहवम् ।१.१५५.६ ।

Like a wheel with four by ninety names, is the revolving globe;

He of giant physique rushing towards it, returns as a fullgrown youth, at the call of our praises.

(This would apply to some comets that return periodically, once or more, within the lifetime of a generation).

यः पूर्व्याय वेधसे नवीसये सुमज्जानये विष्णवे ददाशति
यो जातमस्य महतो महि ब्रवत्सेदु श्रवोभिर्युज्यं चिदभ्यसत् ।१.१५६.२ ।

He who, to the ancient, brave and ever-new born विष्णु, makes offerings. He who, of the birth of this mighty one speaks highly, leads his life provided with victuals.

प्र तत्ते अब्ब शिपिविष्ट नामार्यः शंसामि वयुनानि विद्वान् ।
तं त्वा गृणामि तवसमतव्यान्क्षयन्तमस्य रजसः पराके ।७.१००.५ ।

Your name 'shell-closed', that I praise, I, master of things to be known.

To you, who are mighty, housed beyond this dust, speak I, devoid of might.

(Ta. *cippi* 'shell' Mar. *śipī* (rural), *śimpa(lā)* properly explain the controversial term *śipiviṣṭa* which applies to the state of sudden contraction (signified by *adya* 'today') of a comet to its tiny 'head' or nucleus. It is not worthwhile to connect it to *śepa*; firstly because the phallic depiction of *viṣṇu* cannot explain the exploit of three strides and secondly the word is far better connected to Mar. *śepa* 'tail', rather than to Latin *cippus* 'column' - a very tenuous analogy).

किमित्ते विष्णो परिचक्ष्य भूत्प्र यद् ववक्षे शिपिविष्टो अस्मि ।
मा वपो अस्मदप गूह एतद्यदन्यरूपः समिधे बभूथ ।७.१००.६ ।

What is your consideration, Vishnu, that you say, 'Shell-closed am I'?

Do not withhold your true form, for you were of different aspect in the encounter.

(The encounter of the comet is with the sun. The comet has a profoundly large aspect close to the sun and shrinks to a shell-closed form, away from it).

वषट् ते विष्णवाय आ कृणोमि तन्मे जुषस्व शिपिविष्ट हव्यम्
वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयो गिरो मे यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः । ७.१००.७ ।

O, विष्णु, I make you offering; O shell-closed, accept the oblation.

May my eulogical utterings swell you; may you all protect us with your blessings for all time.

(This is prayer for re-growth of *Viṣṇu* shell-closed, or the comet reduced in size, like for the moon and sun 'in distress', during eclipses).

Correlations

Viṣṇu the deity does not stand alone; he is related with *Indra* and *Marut* in the Veda. Both *Vishnu* and *Indra* traversed, assuming forms (उरु चक्रमाथे । ६.६९.५). They ennobled the skies, scattered dusts for the good of the living (अकृणुतमन्तरिक्षं वरीयोऽप्रथतं जीवसे नो रजांसि । ६.६९.५). They are prone to growth (वावृधाना । ६.६९.१). Being travelers, they are entreated to protect the devotees on safe roads (अरिष्टैर्नः पथिभिः पारयन्ता । ६.६९.१). These common points between the two lead us to identifying with the moon, which also grows, is seen at mountain tops (या साननि) releases the waters; In this task he is aided by the meteors (as hard as the *vajra* when they land on earth) whence they are his aides, as *Maruts*. This allegory is seen in the following :

इन्द्राविष्णू दंहिताः शंबरस्य नव पुरो नवर्ति च श्नयिष्टम्
शतं वर्चिनः सहस्रं च साकं हथो अप्रत्यसुरस्य वीरान् । ७.९९.५ ।

Indra and *Viṣṇu*, thick friends, snatched ninety nine of the forts of *Śambara*. Unrivalled, they killed hundred thousands of the powerful warriors of the demon.

(The demons are the clouds. The numbers of forts and warriors are conventional).

अथाब्रवीद्वृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यान्तस्त्रे विष्णो वितरं वि क्रमस्व । ४.१८.११ ।

Then, *Indra* planning to kill *Vṛtra*, said, 'Viṣṇu, dear, act with all valour'.

This statement shows, that the one great deed ascribed to *Indra* was not executed by him alone.

The mythical stories of killing of a demon by the gods then appear as variations of an archetypal stereotype.

Sāyaṇa's comment on this hymn proceeds on the basis of the narrative relat-

ing to Vamadeva in the सर्वानुक्रमणी. The 13 verses are supposed to constitute a dialogue between Vamadeva, Indra and Indra's mother Aditi. Aside from the supernatural details like Indra being borne in the womb for a thousand months...it is to be noted how totally new narratives are spun from the venerated text of the Veda. The epics and Purāṇas are replete with stories of this sort, built on whatever meaning the reciters and listeners of vedic chants could make out of and impose on the sacred words.

According to Sāyaṇa, *Indra, who was born in a cave, was considered inferior by his mother, who therefore equipped him with all the strength; then as he was born, he rose high in his own luster, filling heaven and earth with it* (अवद्यमिव मन्यमाना गुहाकरिन्द्रं माता वीर्येणा नृष्टम् । अर्थादित्यात्स्वयमत्कं वसान आ रोदसी अपृणाज्जायमानः । ४.१८.५ ।). (Vamadeva praises Indra), 'O Indra, the intoxicated demon *vyāṁsa struck at your chin*' (ममच्च ते मघवन्व्यंसो निविचिघ्वां अप हनू जघान । ४.१८.९ ।).

The three events (in italics above) have a very familiar ring, in the totally different context of Hanūmat's life-story in the Rāmāyaṇa. The characters are rather reversed: Hanūmat is born in a cave, he rises high towards the sun and Indra hits him on the chin (whence his name !). And later, *he* offers his friendship and services to incarnate Viṣṇu!

And yet the Rāmāyaṇa itself provides enough guidance to establish the identity of Viṣṇu, the comet with Hanūmat, the monkey. Pressing him to fly over the ocean, his senior Jambavan says, 'Take stride, speedy swift, like Vishnu took his three' (Kishkindha 66.37). Hanūmat himself exclaims, 'Flying over the sea, my aspect will be like, that of Viṣṇu taking three strides in younger age'. (भविष्यति हि मे रूपं प्लवमानस्य सागरम् । विष्णोः प्रक्रममाणस्य तदा त्रीन् विक्रमानिव । ६७.२५ ।). Starting with 'hairiness' there is more than enough of common characters between comets and meteors in nature and the monkeys in Rāmāyaṇa to convince us of the foundation of the myth.

Conclusion:

The Vedic hymns have to be read in the light of Indian, rather than Indo-European linguistics. Their traditional interpretations have to be reviewed by applying multidisciplinary knowledge. Transformations in mythology in the course of time have to be borne in mind. Acceptance of conclusions of such inquiries will usher into New Indology for the new century if not the new millennium.



REVIEWS

COLLECTED PAPERS ON JAIN STUDIES: By Padmanabh S. Jaini; Published by Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Private Limited, Delhi, 2000. pp. xvi + 428. Price- Rs. 395/-

The book is a collection of published articles of Padmanabh S. Jaini. Details of first publication have been given as foot-note under each heading.

There are twenty-one articles distributed in six sections : (i) Introduction to Jain Faith, (ii) Jain Studies, (iii) Some Aspects of Reality in Jain Doctrine, (iv) Some Aspects of Karma Theory, (v) Jain Ethics and Praxis, and (vi) Jain Purāṇas. Section-headings are just improvised, sans inter se coherence and systematic treatment in their respective contents. The second section is called 'Jaina Studies' with the only content, 'The Jainas and the Western Scholar'. Actually this heading pervades through all the twenty-one articles, as is evident from the title of the collection. This in no way detracts from the merit of individual articles, written at different times, with no linkage having been envisaged. Each article is self-contained, precise and also exhaustive within respective areas.

Out of twenty-one articles, four are purely textual studies. The first 'Svatantravacanāmṛta of Kanakasena' (at serial no. 4), consists of editing and translating a Sanskrit '*dvātrīṃsikā*' of Kanakasena with a brief introduction; the second '*Muktivicāra*' of Bhāvasena (at serial no. 8) is an abridged version of the text, which is in Sanskrit prose, accompanied by English translation; the third '*[Kevalī] Bhuktivicāra*' of the same author (at serial no. 10) too comprises a brief introduction, text (in Sanskrit prose and verse and English translation; in the fourth article of this category, 'Bhaṭṭāraka Śrībhūṣaṇa's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* : A case of Jaina Sectarian Plagiarism' (at serial no. 20), the author shows with instances, how Śrībhūṣaṇa appropriated to himself Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*, a Sanskrit *Kāvya* in 24 *sargas*, with clever concoctions here and there.

In the rest of the articles, general doctrinal themes, such as '*Ahīmṇā*', '*Karma* and Rebirth'; debatable ones, like '*Bhavyatva* and *Abhavyatva*', 'Liberation of women'; problematic ones, like 'Identification of Jaina Monks on Kuṣāṇa sculptures'; and also a few popular ones, like 'Jaina Festivals' have been dealt with, a rare clarity and felicity of diction.

In the articles entitled 'Jaina Rṣabha as an *Avatāra*' (at serial no. 18) '*Mahābhārata* Motifs in the Jaina *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*' (at serial no. 19) and 'Jaina Purāṇas:

A Purāṇic Counter Tradition' (at serial no. 21) the author takes an inside view of the development of Jaina epics and Purāṇas. In 'Tīrthaṅkara-Prakṛti and the Bodhisattva Path' (at serial no. 6) the author contrasts the absence of awareness and aspiration for *tīrthaṅkara*-hood in a would-be *tīrthaṅkara* with the presence of both of these in a would-be Buddha and brings to focus the Jaina view, that all aspirations tend to downgrade the soul, and one for *tīrthaṅkara*-hood (or Buddha-hood) cannot be an exception. In 'Jaina debates on the spiritual liberation of women' (at serial no. 9) the author credits the *yāpanīyas* with 'a systematic refutation of the Digambara position, that a woman can't be liberated' (p. 167). A major factor in the debate is wearing clothes (*sacelakatva*) and going naked (*acelakatva*). In 'Kesī-Goyamijjam' *ajjhayaṇa* of the 'Uttarajjhayaṇa' (23), a direct discipline of Lord Mahāvīra, dismisses it as a non-issue in matters of right conduct in the absolute sense of the term.

paccayattam ca logassa, nāṇāvihavigappaṇam /
jattattham gahaṇattham ca, loge liṅgappaṇam //32//

aha bhava paiṇṇā u, mokkhasabbhūyasāhaṇe /
nāṇam ca daṁsaṇam ceva, carittam ceva nicche //33//

Regarding a woman's liberation and *tīrthaṅkara*-hood, there is an implicit argument in the tale of Malli at 'Nāyādharmakahāo' Book 1, Chapter 8. One and the same person acquiring *tīrthaṅkara* and also *strīnāmakarman* has to be born as a woman *tīrthaṅkara*, thus consuming both the sets of *karmans* simultaneously and getting liberated. Malli in her previous birth ('3rd from the present' the intermediate one being as a *deva*) was born as Mahābala. He becomes a king. Later, he accepted the order of monks along with his six subordinate rulers, who were also his friends. [At p. 179 st. 24, number of friends has been said to be seven which is an error. Vide 'Nāyā-dhammakahāo', Ladnun edn. Book 1, chapter 8, st. 10].

All the seven resolved to practise austerities together. But when the other six observed one day's fast, Mahābala observed fast for two days; when they observed fast for two days Mahābala continued his fast for three days and so on. It was due to this practice of deceit, that Mahābala acquired *strī-nāmakarman*. He also acquired *tīrthaṅkara-nāmakarman* by fulfilling all the twenty conditions laid down for it, consequently he was born as Malli, a woman *tīrthaṅkara*. This couldn't have been otherwise, since birth as a *tīrthaṅkara* is the last one and it is in this life, that he or she has to consume the *tīrthaṅkara-nāmakarman* along with other *nāmakarmans*. 'So under specific circumstances a woman's *tīrthaṅkara*-hood and liberation is inevitable', is the implicit argument of this chapter.

The book is neatly, and on the whole correctly printed, barring some omissions and alteration of letters, which may be corrected by readers even without an errata. Those, casually noticed, are being listed below :

page	line	misprinted as	should have been printed as
9 26		sens	senses
43	10	aśūnyua	aśūnya
44	16	varigated	variegated
137	2	grating	granting
171	17	could (not needed)	-----
177	27	woman	women
178	17	lead	led
180	13	Jainas	Jina
181	24	percept	precept
182	17	thing	things
191	8	in	is
191	9	is	in
202	30	satva	stava
226	21	par	pari
248	16	Devār	Devar
270	11	an	and
284	37	foul	fowl
327	30	94	98
328	33	reculse	recluse
389	28	Śālāka	Śalākā

R. P. Poddar



DR. CHARLOTTE KRAUSE: HER LIFE AND LITERATURE VOL. I: Compiled by Hazarimull Banthia and Dr. Luitgard Soni; Edited by Dr. Shriprakash Pandey; Published by Pārśvanātha Vidyāpīṭha, Varanasi (India), 1999. pp. xxxvii+ 627. Price Rs. 500/- US \$ 40/-

The book is planned in four sections: first, second and third containing articles of Dr. Krause in English, Hindi and Gujarati respectively and the fourth, two books edited by Dr. Krause viz. (i) Ancient Jain Hymns and (ii) Nāsaketarī Kathā.

The first article in the English section, 'The Kaleidoscope of Indian Wisdom', opens with a spirited discussion on origin and function of religion, and recounts in brief the six orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy, the minor philosophies of the materialists and the *Ājīvakas* and the two main systems of the ascetics (*Śramaṇas*): the Buddhist and the Jaina. The second article, 'An Interpretation of Jaina Ethics', very neatly summarizes the theoretical and practical aspects of Jaina social (i.e. householders') and monastic conduct. In the third article, 'The Heritage of the Last Arhat', the author pays effusive tributes to ascetic life and under the broad umbrella of 'heritage' alights at random on different aspects of Jaina religious conduct. The fourth article describes the early Indian court-life on the basis of canonical '*Vaṇṇaka*' passages, which are too conventional, ornate and stereotyped to reflect any realistic picture of any specific time or place. The fifth article, 'The Social Atmosphere of Present Jainism', hypothesizes, on purely circumstantial evidence, that the Rajputs gave up warfare in preference to trade and commerce under the influence of Jainism, and that most of the Jaina population of North India converted to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of Vallabhācārya. The sixth article, 'Pythagoras: The Vegetarian', is an eloquent adaptation from Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'. In the seventh article, 'Siddhasena Divākara and Vikramāditya', the author, with consistent reasoning, concludes that the patron addressed in the '*Guṇavacanadvātrīṃsīkā*' of Siddhasena Divākara is Samudragupta. The eighth article recounts the deeds of one fabulously rich Javada Śrāvaka of Mandu, with literary and epigraphical evidences. The ninth is an informative article on Vijaya Dharma Sūri and his disciple Upādhyāya Maṅgala Vijaya. The last (10th) article of this section is a collection of 108 sayings of Vijaya Dharma Sūri, rendered in English, these would have been more interesting if the originals too had been included.

The two articles in the Hindi section are summaries of articles 7th and 5th respectively of the English section. The Gujarati section contains five articles. All of these are editions of '*Sajjhāyas* and *Stutis*' preserved in manuscript in the Sindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. To each of them the author has added brief introductions.

The last section, viz. the fourth, contains authors' editions of two books, (i) Ancient Jaina Hymns and (ii) Nāsaketarī Kathā. The first is a collection of eight hymns, the first seven in Sanskrit and the last one in 'Gurjara Apabhraṃśa'. Manuscripts of all these hymns were found in the Sindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. In her elaborate introduction the author throws light on Jaina hymn-literature and summarizes the contents of each hymn. There are also annotations on the first six hymns at the end of the book. The second book is a popular narration of the story 'Nāsaketa' (Nacikatas) in Rajasthani, from the manuscripts preserved in Sindhia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. This has a brief introduction in the beginning and a chapter wise summary in English, and also grammar and glossary at the end.

All the articles and also the books have their first publications in different journals and compendiums at different times, noted at the foot under each heading. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to reprint the writings of so distinguished a person as Dr. Chalotte Krause and preserve them in book form. But a Research Institute like Pārśvanātha Vidyāpīṭha, doing this, has to be on guard that such 'retrospects' do not hold up its primary function of original research and publication.

The only item being printed and published for the first time is the 'Introduction' by Professor Sagarmal Jain. But, unlike rest of the book, this has not been carefully seen through the press. There are numerous printing as well as editorial mistakes such as 'grammer' for 'grammar' at page (ix), line 21; 'had came India' for 'had come to India' at p. (x), 1.9; 'shakened' for 'shaken' at p. (xi), 1.18; 'I was compelled to think that what has happened', (faulty narration) at p. (xi), 1.22; 'her' for 'the' at p. (xi), 1.29; 'which were remain in course of time' (faulty construction) p. (xiii), 1.26; 'it was not on part of her negligence' (faulty construction) p. (xiii), 1.31; 'attain' for 'attained' p. (xi), 1.22; 'align' for 'alien' p. (xvi), 1.17; 'last book section' for 'the last section of the book' p. (xx), 1.29; etc.

R. P. Poddar



BEFORE THE BEGINNING AND AFTER THE END:

By Rishi Kumar Mishra, pub. by Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 2000, price Rs. 395/-

The author says (p. 551) that the book is 'a result of over thirty 30 (sic) years ofrigorous process' and having got 'insights into the 'lost' meaning of the messages hidden in the age-old texts' he attempts at Rediscovering Ancient Insights (sub-title of the book).

Some of the topics dealt with are, as follows:

Beginning the Journey

Prajapati: the First Individual

Jeeva; Ishwara and Parmeshwara*

Yajnya: Meaning and Significance

Who is the 'I'?

The Universe: Inside and Outside

The Space-Time Continuum

God, Gods and Goddesses

Pure Intelligence and Absolute Consciousness

Vishnu and his One Thousand names

Ayurveda: The Science of Health and Longevity

The Vedas: Distortion and Misrepresentation

We are constrained to say, that the book contains fantastic and wild statements without any basis, ground or support from Vedic texts, factual errors, wrong and arbitrary meanings assigned to Vedic words and passages, peculiar grammatical derivations, unusual etymologies, incorrect citations, wrong references, faulty readings of Sanskrit words and phrases, wrong and incorrect translations of Vedic passages, and unscientific and incomplete scheme of translation and pronunciation. Such shortcomings are legions. We shall point out only a few.

Most of the explanations, interpretations, and statements made by the author are arbitrary, baseless, and without any proof or reference. They are not corroborated by Vedic texts.

On page 9, the author says: 'Veda is the original Tattwa, the primary factor.... *Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sama* and *Atharva* are four Tattwas, Tattwa being the original or primary factor which evolves into other objects. The entire universe is made from these four Tattwas'. What is the basis for such a statement?

On page 39 and 47 Fn. 11, the authors avers: 'Rishi Prana....has five states: Brahma akshar, Vishnu akshar, Indra akshar, Agni akshar, and Soma akshar'. Any Vedic reference for this statement?

Again on page 42 and 47 Fn. 15: 'Prana is of four types..... There is a technical term in the Vedas (sic) for each type of Prana: *Paroraja*, *Agneya*, *Somya*

and *Apya*'. He has not provided any reference or proof.

On page 55, he opines: 'Three Prajapatis known by the three names of Nabhya, Vyakrit and Sarva'. Again without Vedic support.

Many a time, the meanings and senses assigned to a Sanskrit word by the author are his own creations. They are not found in any lexicon either by ancient Sanskrit lexicographers (Śabdakalpadrūma, Vācaspatyam, etc.) or by modern lexicographers (MMW, PW, Apte, etc.). His Glossary is full of many fantastic self-willed meanings. Over and above, the author has not provided any explanation as to why and how he arrives at such meanings. A few examples:

ABHU (p. 361 & Glossary) - the one who sees, the seer.

ABHWA (P. 58, 59, etc. & Glossary)- that which is seen, the scene.

About these two words, the author says:

'Brahma is of two kinds: Abhu and Abhwa. The one who sees, the seer, is called Abhu, and that which is seen, the scene, is Abhwa (p. 361). Further, (on p. 59), he avers: 'new supraphysical entity is called Abhwa'. Again no basis has been provided. He does not say, where these two words, in these senses, are found in the Vedic texts.

Further, most of the meanings of the words in the Glossary are arbitrary, wrong, and without any basis. Their spellings are also wrong. A few examples:

ADITI	-	the sun
CHHANDAS	-	plural of CHHANDA
MADHYAMA	-	Sustenance
VARTIKA	-	elucidation of commentary (?); spelling is also wrong.
YAJURVEDA	-	the facet of motion.

Many times many passages from the Vedic texts are wrongly translated.

On page 17, the author quotes *PraśnUp.* 1.3 as *atha kabandhee katyayana upetya papraccha* and translates it as 'the student katyayana enquires.' That is, he takes Kabandhī to mean 'student'. Kabandhī is a proper name. He was a son of Kātyāyana. In fact, the entire passage is wrongly and incompletely translated.

Again on p. 157, the author cites RV 10.129.6 and wrongly translates the

pada *kuta ājātā kut iyaṃ viśṛṣṭiḥ* (not *kutam ayam viśhrishtiḥ* as quoted by the author) as 'whence it cometh and whither it vanishes'. It should be 'whence it was born and whence comes this creation'. Indeed the remaining pādas are also incorrectly translated.

There are many wrong and unusual etymologies provided by the author. A few examples:

Guru (p. 357)- *Gu* means 'darkness', *Ru* denotes that, which banishes (something). Thus *Guru* means 'one who dispels darkness'.

Ananda (p. 368)- Ananda has two syllables. *Aa* and *Nanda*. *Aa* means all round, while *Nanda* denotes expansion, augmentation or advance. That which advances vigorously but does not move at all is Ananda. This is a symptom of Atma.

The author has provided some very peculiar but incorrect grammatical explanations of Sanskrit terms. A few examples:

Yaju (p. 110, Fn.1)- Yaju has a silent 'h' sound at the end. According to the rules of euphonic conjunction in Sanskrit grammar, when Veda follows Yaju(h), the silent h becomes 'r' and the single word becomes Yajurveda.

However, when Veda does not follow, the word stands as Yaju.

Should the author be told, that the original word (*prātipadika*) is *yajus* (neut.), and is derived from the root *yaj+usi*?

Further, giving the grammatical derivation of Viṣṇu, the author says (p. 270-71): 'The root *Viś* means 'to enter'. The term 'Viṣṇu' is dissolved into *Veveshti Vyapnoti iti Viṣṇuḥ*. Does the author know that the root *viś* (*viśṛ-vyāptau* 'to pervade') in the word *viṣṇu* belongs to the 3rd class (Juhotyādi) and not *viś* (*pravesane*- 'to enter') that belongs to the 6th class (Tudādi)?

About the word Brahman (p. 47 Fn. 12), the author has this to say:

Sanskrit scholars, including scholars of the philosophy of the Vedas have used the word 'Brahman' (with an 'n' added at the end) to distinguish it from 'Brahma' one of the trinity of Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the sustainer) and Mahesh (the destroyer), worshiped by Hindus. We retain Brahma in its original form ... (p. 47, Fn. 12).

Brahman (neut.) and Brahma (masc.) are two distinct words.

Wrong spelling of Sanskrit words are legions. Apart from wrong translation of Sanskrit terms, the author does not seem to differentiate between a Sanskrit word and its Hindi form. A few instances:

Dedication page:	<i>ajnan</i> (for <i>ajñāna</i>)
	<i>jnanjan</i> (for <i>jñānañjana</i>)
	<i>Chakshu runmeeliam</i> (for <i>cakṣurunmīlitam</i>)
p. 1:	<i>sam roopam</i> (for <i>sāmarupyam</i>)
p. 17:	<i>ima praja</i> (<i>imāḥ prajāḥ</i>)

Most of the words in the Glossary are wrongly spelt. For example, Parmatma, parmeshthi etc.

Almost all the passages cited from the Vedic texts have incorrect readings (see pp. 1; 17; 48; etc.).

Strangely, even names of Vedic texts and Sanskrit scholars are wrongly spelt.

Tatteriia	-	for Taittirīya
Aitereya	-	for Aitareya
Rik Veda	-	for Ṛgveda
BHARTRAHART	-	for Bhartṛhari

Many times, the author uses some words, which are difficult to understand. For instance, ASATA, BALSHEHWARA, Urka, etc.

His scheme of transliteration and pronunciation (p. XV-XVII) is also incorrect and incomplete and deviates drastically for non-Sanskritists to read his spellings of words. For example, vishesh, viswa, vishwa etc.

The author is very harsh on modern, particularly western scholars. He says (p. 451): 'British and other European scholars have subjected the Vedas to sustained and widespread distortion over the past 200 years'. Further (p. xiv): Some plainly ridiculous mis-interpretations were handed down as translations of the original Sanskrit texts, all of which resulted in grave misunderstanding of the Vedas.

The author quotes Max Müller, who seems to be the butt of his criticism, on page 485 and page 487. But he does not mention any work of Max Müller either in Bibliography or in the footnotes. Only a strong condemnation of a scholar without providing any ground or basis does not hold water and fools none.

On page xiv, the author asserts: 'the viewpoint presented in the following pages differs fundamentally from the interpretations of the Vedas by Western scholars, most notably the British and German 'Indologists'....who have translated, interpreted and commented upon these texts'.

The author's assertions would have been convincing, had he taken up some issued or passages from the Vedic texts, and provided his views and interpretations vis-a-vis the Indian and Western scholars, so that the readers could compare them. He has done nothing of the sort.

The book of the author does not show, if he is aware of the works of ancient Indian traditional scholars and the works of modern Indian or Western scholars except Max Müller. No other British, German, French, American, Russian or even Indian Vedic scholar finds any mention in the book either in the Bibliography or in the Footnotes.

The author informs us, that he was a journalist, Editor-in-chief of the Patriot and the Link.... a trade unionist and social activist.....was elected as a Member of the Indian Parliament (Upper House) from 1974 to 1980.....became Chairman and Editor-in-chief of the Observer Group of Newspapers. (p. 552).

So, having known the author, our expectations rose high. The book disappoints.

*We have retained, throughout the review, the transliterated forms and spellings of Sanskrit words as used by the author, though they are incorrect.

S. K. Lal.



RETRIEVAL OF HISTORY FROM PURĀNIC MYTHS:

By P. L. Bhargava, published by D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, revised and enlarged edn. 1998, Price Rs. 200/-.

The first edition of the book appeared in 1984, and received 'high encomiums' from scholars. To the present revised and enlarged edition Pro. Bhargava prefaces, "A few months back (in 1998) a member of Parliament accused Rāma of banishing his wife Sītā, and no body rose up to point out the wrongness of his accusations". This accusation hastened the present edition. The Professor aims to "dispe

the wrong belief of our people.” The outcome is the Retrieval of History from Purāṇic Myths.

He has critically studied and, to a large extent, successfully ‘retrieved’ the following ten myths:

1. The Purāṇas and the Rāmayaṇa
2. Did Rāma Banish his wife Sītā?
3. Did Rāma kill Balin Surreptitiously?
4. Was Viśvāmitra the Father of Śakuntalā?
5. Did Paraśurāma kill his own Mother?
6. Did Bhagīratha bring the Gaṅgā from Heaven?
7. Did Kṛṣṇa have a companion named Rādhā?
8. Was Yudhiṣṭhira Crowned King of Hastināpura in 3102 B.C.?
9. Was Vyāsa the Author of the Traditional Eighteen Purāṇas?
10. Was Vālmiki a Robber in his Youth?

Let us first take up how Prof. Bhargava deals with the very awkward story of banishment of Sītā by Rāma.

Sanskrit creative writers of yore have themselves to be blamed for creating such a wrong belief and misconception in common people’s minds. Of course, it did engage their attention also and they did try, in their own way, to dispel many such wrong beliefs and misconceptions. As for instance, the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa (1400 A.D.) mentions: After Rāvaṇa was killed and Rāma returned to Ayodhya and ruled there for a considerable long time, the gods visited Rāma and Sītā, and reminded them, that their mission on the earth was complete, and that it was time they returned to their abode, Vaikuṇṭha. Therefore, Rāma himself schemed a slander about Sītā and left her in the forest.....etc.

The Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa has devised another plan. Here Kaikeyī is the culprit. Once she asked Sītā secretly to draw Rāvaṇa’s picture. Sītā replied that she had never looked at Rāvaṇa, and that when he had come to kidnap her, she had seen just his right toe. Kaikeyī asked her to draw at least that toe. Sītā, in all innocence, did that and departed from there. Thereafter, Kaikeyī drew the whole profile of Rāvaṇa on the basis of the toe, and managed Rāma to see it. She maliciously informed him, that Sītā had drawn the picture. A doubting Rāma asked Lakṣmaṇa to abandon Sītā..... etc.

It is, however, the bounden duty of modern scholars to undo the wrongness ingrained in the minds of people since centuries. It is to the great credit of Prof. Bhargava that he has taken upon himself this task.

The limitation of space prevents us from going into details of arguments put forth by the learned author. The main planks of his arguments are: 1. either the myths are spurious, or 2. they are later additions or interpolations.

The story of banishment of Sītā occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, Kāṇḍa 7 (*Uttara*). The author has plausibly proved that the Rāmāyaṇa had ended at the sixth Kāṇḍa (*Yuddha*). Hence, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* was spurious and a late invention (p. 26; 28). This story occurs also in the Raghuvamśa, and in many Purāṇas, such as Brahma, Agni, Bhāgavata, and Padma. According to the author, none of these Purāṇas is earlier than 400 A.D.

Whether this story of banishment of Sītā is spurious, or interpolation, or later addition, the fact remains, that it is there in Sanskrit literary works and in people's mind. The pertinent question is: Why did Sanskrit writers write such a thing? The answer is best to be found in the social milieu of the first few centuries of the Christian era in India.

Further, did Rāma do, what he did out of suspicion, distrust, spite, or any motive? Was Rāma such a naive as to throw away his beloved wife on a flimsy ground? What was his life after that? The best answer has been provided by Bhavabhūti. Rāma's was the life of sheer misery, frustration, and deep agony without Sītā. One must differentiate between Rāma as an ordinary man and Rāma as an ideal and divine king. Here there is a clash between personal self and supreme sacrifice entailed upon a righteous king. When asked by Vāsantī, Rāma meekly replied: *loko na mṛṣyati*. It is not for nothing that Rāma is venerated as Maryādā Puruṣottama Rāma since millenia, and no amount of ignorant criticisms can affect such veneration. The banishment of Sītā is an imitable example of Duty over Self. This line of argument, as put forth by Bhavabhūti, has to be projected for a better understanding of Rāma's conduct.

Secondly, if we regard Rāma and Sītā as divine beings, the whole episode is nothing more than a divine play for us worldlings.

Regarding the story of Viśvāmitra's penance broken by Menakā and the birth of Śakuntalā, the Professor has rightly proved, on the basis of sufficient references, that this myth is untenable so far as the geneology of Viśvāmitra is concerned. He was a distant descendant of Śakuntalā, not her father (p. 39).

The Professor argues convincingly, that Bālin was not killed by Rāma surreptitiously, but in a battle (*āhave*). Further, the Professor proves, that the great poet Vālmīki was not a robber in his youth (it is simply not possible for a forester, that too a cruel robber, to compose the great epic), but a descendant of Ṛṣi Bhṛgu. Vālmīki's personal name was Ṛkṣa (p. 97). He was a highly talented poet and flourished in about 700 B.C.

In brief, it is undoubtedly to the great credit of the erudite Professor, that he has factfully and very convincingly corrected the wrongness and misconceptions, (legacies bequeathed by Sanskrit writers of the past), behind the ten myths that he has undertaken, and in thus doing, he has rendered a great service to the society.

The book is very readable for both, scholars and public. And the Parliament library should keep a few copies of this.

S. K. Lal.



भाषाशास्त्र प्रवेशिनी (A handbook on comparative Philology): by Prof. R. S. Venkatarama Sastri. Pub. by The Kuppusvami Sastri Research Institute, Madras-600004. Golden Jubilee Publication; 1996; Pp. vi+243; Price: Rs. 100/-.

This is reprint of the book originally published in 1938. Its special features are: (1) As the very name announces, its subject in philology (as the name was then common) with, we may add, special reference to the Sanskrit language, and (2) the book itself is written in Sanskrit. (After this book, the only book written on the somewhat same subject and, further, in Sanskrit is this reviewer's युभातः संस्कृतं प्रति. I may add: तृतीयं वर्तते न वा । The author himself adds: वाण्यां गैर्वाण्यामेतादृशग्रथनं विरल- विरलमिति नानुभूतिः समेषाम् (which sentence incidentally is a good specimen of the author's own Sanskrit).

Names of the chapters will give an idea of the variety of contents of this book:

(p. 15) ॥ भाषाया उत्पत्त्यभिवृद्धी ॥ ("The origin and Development of Speech").

(p. 19) ॥ अयं शब्दार्थसंबन्धः ॥ (How meanings came to be attached to sounds?)

(p. 23) ॥ इण्डोजर्मानिक् भाषाविभागः ॥ Long back 'Indo-European' has replaced 'Indo-Germanic'.

(p. 23) ॥ भाषाशास्त्रस्य शास्त्रान्तरेः साकं तौल्यविमर्शः ॥ ("The Status of Linguistics as a Science")

(p. 28) ॥ ध्वनिपरिणामः ॥ (“Phonetic Change”)

(p. 29) ॥ ध्वनिनियमोपोद्घातः ॥ (“Phonetic Laws”)

(p. 34) ॥ चरित्रप्रसिद्धाः तदप्रसिद्धाश्च भाषाः ॥ (“Recorded and Unrecorded Languages”) etc.

(p. 226) The last chapter is भाषाशास्त्रचरित्रम्. History of comparative Philology. After a brief reference to ancient Greeks and Romans in this respect, the author refers to the foundation of the ancient Indian scholars thus: सर्वथा भाषां सप्रमाणं शास्त्रत्वेन तत्पूर्वतया अनितरसाधारणविधं विचारितवन्तो भारतीयाः शाब्दिका एवेत्यविप्रपन्नमिदम् । येषां व्याकरणशास्त्रं स्मारं स्मारं चटुलं विस्मेरं नानटीति पाश्चात्यानां शाब्दिकानां मतिः । तेषामेव प्रतिभाप्रकर्षेण अतिप्राचीना वर्षिष्ठापि वेदभाषा अविच्छिन्नमविकल शीक्षादिनीयता यथापुरं सुरक्षिता वर्वर्तीदानीमपि भगवतः पाणिनेरष्टाध्यायी हि प्रतीच्यां प्रचलन्ती भाषाशास्त्रमाधुनिकमजीजनत् ॥

In dealing with phonetic and semantic changes the author has given plenty of examples. It is worth mentioning that while dealing with semantic changes (of the nature of narrowing, widening or transferring of meaning) the author does not fail to bring in the lakṣaṇā with its different varieties of the rhetoricians.

Few linguists are now interested in the ultimate origin of language. This book, however, originally belongs to that period, when this interest was very much alive. So it is no wonder that the book mentions the theories like Bow-vow Theory, Pooh-Pooh Theory, Ding-dong Theory, and also Muscular Theory. Incidentally, I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a casual remark along with a very apt simile brought in by the author elsewhere in the book on our present topic. Says he :

भाषाबीजं च मानुषान्तरभाव एव । स एव मनुष्यं भाषोन्मुखं करोति, कठोरगर्भ इव प्रजावर्ती प्रसवोन्मुखीम् (p. 230).

It is natural, that only old linguistic explanations and linguists belonging to the old generations only occur here, like Bloomfield, Delbruck, Uhlenbleck, Forlunatov, Bopp, Schlegel etc. Considering the concept of Shw in those days the mention such ‘law-givers’ as Grimm, Verner, Grassman is inevitable.

The evolution of the Sanskrit speech sounds, as also that of nominal inflection and verbal conjugation is explained in the manner then current (Discussion on the Laryngeal Theory and explanation of many a Sanskrit phonetic and morphological peculiarity is of course not expected.)

Whereas the author has given normally Sanskrit equivalents for English words, at times he does not seem to be very enthusiastic in this matter. cf. ये तावत् Diphthong वर्णा हल्परका विरामावस्थिता विरामपरका वा भवन्ति ते Tauto-syllabic शब्देन व्यवहियन्ते...Hetero-syllabic वर्णानां तु अपरात्मना । Similarly the retention of terms like Tmesis.

A feature which must be mentioned here is, that though a lover of Sanskrit, he avoids its invidious comparison with other languages. He is quite modern in this

leniency: Read: अत्रेदम् अवधेयम् । यत् भाषाणां परस्परतोलनं नैव सम्यक्, स्वस्वविषये तत्तद् भाषाणाम् उत्कर्षत्वात् ।
Refreshingly modern!

One must appreciate the modern, liberal and descriptive outlook and also the rare dash displayed by the author in penning this book in Sanskrit itself.

G. B. Palsule.



Dr. J. Ouseparampil; Religion Revisited: Published by the author, Indian Institute of Indology, Plot No. 96, S. No. 34/2 Vidyanagar, Pune 411 032, First Ed. (2001), pages 145, Price Rs. 200/-.

Dr. Ouseparampil in his book Religion Revisited comes out with a fresh understanding of religion. His understanding is an elaboration of late Prof. K. J. Shah's philosophy of religion, which in turn is a reconstruction of M. K. Gandhi's views on religion. Naturally the idea of equality of all religions and consequent criticism of conversion from one religion to another are the dominant themes of this book.

The author is a thorough scholar of Hinduism and Christianity. His philosophy of religion, naturally, has bearing on both the religions. Hinduism, however, assumes central position in his book, because it seems to provide him with the framework for understanding religion or religiosity in general. On the basis of *Manusmṛti*, for instance, he discusses the four sources of religious knowledge, viz. primary revelation (*Śruti*), tradition (*Smṛti*), the conduct of good people (*Sadācāra*) and happiness of the doer (*Ātmatuṣṭi*) and compares them with the similar sources according to Christianity. According to him the primary revelation is unauthored and unwritten, which is the source of truth in religion. Different religions are different interpretations of this unauthored revelation. This source being at the back of all religions, all religions are equal and it is meaningless to get converted from one religion to another. The author elaborates his ideas concerning unwritten revelation, religiosity and morality in terms of the concepts like *āgama*, *śāstra*, and *dharma* as discussed in the texts like *Vākyapadīya*, *Manusmṛti* and *Mahābhārata*.

One of the achievements of the book, whether the author would regard it to be so or not, is to show how Hinduism can provide a framework for interreligious dialogue, where each religion, while retaining its own identity can respect all other religions. However, whether the author's approach could be universally applicable to all religions is doubtful. A question could be raised mainly with respect to athe-

istic religions such as Buddhism and Jainism. Here the author's position is ambivalent. In the first chapter he quotes Gandhi saying, that truth is God (p. 24). He seems to suggest, that Jainism and Buddhism may deny God of faith and the authority of Vedas, but they do accept truth, i.e. the ever-binding law of human nature. But in chapter four, where he considers hope in God as a condition of religiosity, he describes God not just as the law of human nature, but as a higher value, the purpose (p. 76), as the final refuge, *abhaya* (p. 78). Again in the chapter five he argues, that morality and not God is the goal of religion. Thus his position about the possibility of religion without God remains unclear. His idea of *apaureṣeya* revelation also raises some problems. When, for instance, there is no agreement among all religions, orthodox or heterodox, Indian or non-Indian concerning the same? The author's position regarding conversion too is problematic. One can appreciate the distinction he makes between two meanings of conversion: 1) Conversion within a religious fold i.e. from irreligious life to religiosity, from sinful life to virtuous life and 2) Conversion from one sectarian religion to another sectarian religion. He welcomes the former type of conversion, but his position about the latter type is ambivalent. He describes the latter type variously as meaningless, as an error and condemns it in absolute terms. But at some places he states the conditions in which the conversion could be acceptable. His criticism of conversion is mainly applicable to the one done under temptation or force. But there is another condition of conversion to which the author is not sufficiently sensitive. It is the condition, for instance, in which Dalit masses led by Dr. Ambedkar were converted to Buddhism. The author insists that one should study one's religion and see whether one can realize God in it before thinking of conversion. This condition was not applicable to Dalits, who were not treated as respectable members of Hindu religious fold. There was no religion, which they could have regarded and studied as their own religion with sufficient respectability, devotion and interest. Their conversion into Buddhism, though it was a mass conversion, cannot be criticized on the grounds suggested by the author.

The question of studying one's own religion has another dimension. In modern times, especially in the age of globalization, the boundaries among human beings created by caste, nationality, religion etc. are getting blurred. The religious identities, in terms of which persons could talk of their own religion are losing their sharpness and tightness. It is very likely, that the study of one's own religion does not remain isolated, but it immediately assumes a cross-religious, rather a symbolic, form. In such a fuzzy situation, justification or criticism of conversion cannot be made in a black and white way.

The author's project of revisiting religion has thrown some flashes of light on the nature and the problem of religion, but it has also made a way for the need for visiting religion in a clear and a more critical way.

Pradeep Gokhale.



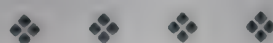
ŚRĪ BĀLAKRṢṢṢA GRANTHĀVALĪ: Prameyarnārṇava, Nirṇayārṇava, Sevakaumudī and articles on Kāmamārga-Premamārga-Viveka, Ekāntabakṣaṇa and Jiveśvarabhedābhedavimarśo composed by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa alias Lālū Bhaṭṭa published by Śrī Vallabhavidyāpīṭha, A. H. Trust, Vaibhava Co-operative Society, Pune-Banglore Road, Kolhapur, Maharashtra V. S. 2054 (1997 A. D.) for free distribution. pp. 1-21 (Introduction) by Goswami Shyama Manohar pp. 28-40 (detailed Index) In Sanskrit (In Hindi). pp. 1-230 (Text).

This is a collection of three works and three articles, written by Balakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa alias Lālū Bhaṭṭa. These articles deal with various topics of the Śuddhādvaita doctrines of Vallabhācārya. The author migrated to Jaipur from Braja region and many others followed him.

The editor Sri Shyama Manohar has enlisted the manuscripts of three works collated by him. The editor has given a pagewise list of the topics occurring in Prameyarnārṇava containing nine chapters, each one being termed as 'Viveka' (e.g. Prapañcaviveka, Jīvaviveka etc.). There are four Tārāṅgas in Nirṇayārṇava and four Prakaraṇas in Sevākaumudī. The appendix contains three articles or essays on topics mentioned above.

Śrī Lālū Bhaṭṭa has cited many lines from the Upaniṣads and interpreted them in terms of Vallabhā's philosophy. He has paraphrased Puṣṭi as Anugraha, following Bhāgarata. He has described in details four types of Puṣṭibhakti (p. 33-34). The writer has extensively quoted from Bhāgavata Purāṇa in this chapter. He has given different readings for different words at the end of each chapter of the text. The writer has explained love-oriented devotion advocated by Vallabhācārya in the articles too. In the end, the editor has furnished an alphabetically arranged list of citations, giving exact references (pp. 231-302: a long list indeed!). He has also given the names of various works, from which citations are taken (pp. 303-305).

P. G. Lalye.



KĀVYA IN SOUTH INDIA: (Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry)

Herman Tieken, Egbert Forsden, Gronigen, 2001, pp. 1-255, including Appendices to Chapter 5, Index locorum and Bibliography. Price - not mentioned.

This work is a study of old Tamil Caṅkam literature, which consists of eight anthologies and Tolakāppiam - work on Grammar and poetics. Caṅkam or Saṅgam was a type of academy, which once had been established at Madurai, between first and seventh century A.D. The poems, which were mostly collections, have two categories : (i) Love poetry (Akam- interior) and (ii) Heroic poetry- Puran (Exterior). The earlier poetry was mostly a bardic poetry and later were classical texts, called Kalitokkai and Paripāṭal. The life depicted in Caṅkam poetry is mostly that of a villager.

The author has studied the contents of the literary works in detail. He has furnished numerous quotations in their English translations, made by scholars like Ramanujan, Shanmugan Pillai, Ledden and others. Most of the translations are later ones, mostly done after 1970. The verses are free verses like Muktakas in Sanskrit literature and delineate pangs of separation or longings on the part of lover and his beloved. The separation has become more pertinent, when the husband has gone on a long journey. In the verses, a village inhabited by poor naive rustics could have become a proper, subject of poetry.

The author has displayed erudition in Sanskrit and Prakrit in his work. The Sattasai of Hāla, according to Tieken, depicts two sets of people according to their profession or status (farmer, village headman) and by their position in the family. But the author is rather harsh in remarking that village types are invariably depicted as stupid, poor and frustrated. Stupidity or poverty, lose their colour in the court of love. He has also discussed the condition of a daughter-in-law, when she is in the sole control of her mother-in-law in the absence of her husband. Incidentally, he has given his opinion about Kāmasūtra, in which one may find examples of how to proceed in mapping the field of sex.

Thereafter, he has described Puram poetry set in a heroic age, primarily concerned with virtues of heroism and liberality. Many bards have described family distress. He has quoted with approval Hart's views, focusing on the phenomenon of embedding sentences within sentences. Tieken has quoted from ornate prose works. He has also pointed out another peculiarity of Caṅkam poets. Viz. taking up words from the preceding poems and creating with the same material an entirely new poem. Puram is marked with all these characteristics which describe the heroic

period of the past. The earlier text, the author has rightly pointed out, that no bias for any one dynasty, the Kallittokai and Parirāṭal mention only the Pāṇḍyas. These two sets have incorporated various material patterns.

The author has shown deep critical insight, when he compares Kalittokai, with *Gitagovinda*. In both of them, songs are embedded in stanzas, which outline the dramatic context. He has cited passages from Millers translation of *Gitagovinda*. The dramatic context of both consists of one stanza in syllabic metre, followed by eight songs in moric metre. Both of them are erotic in nature. Here, the author has discussed the structure of Lāśya in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which deals with erotic situation, is performed by one actor, and where there is use of different metres. He has also discussed the import of words like *Dvimūḍhaka*, *Khañjaka*, *Narkuṭaka* and the like. He has referred to dramatic compositions, describing water festival. He has discussed Carcari, having similar nature. He has cited verses in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, from *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The author, after studying songs in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil, has maintained that all the Akam texts of Caṅkam poetry appear to be adaptations in Tamil, particularly of Prakrit of Kāvya literature, mostly inset in Lāśya type. The author has quoted extensively from Bhoja Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa while distinguishing between various performances like Nartanakas and Prekṣaṇakas.

After studying the tenets of Bhakti in Sanskrit (Prakrit) and Tamil, especially with the Bhakti poetry which makes use of a poetic format, known from the old Caṅkam poetry with all its features. Under the umbrella of Lāśya, he has brought Sanskrit, Prakrit and Caṅkam Mukṭaka types together, As far as Kāvya is concerned, Sanskrit and Tamil are interdependent. The Sanskrit scholars should study the old Tamil poetry systematically, in which the genres of Kāvya, are preserved. Tieken has tried to bring about a concord between Caṅkam poems and Sanskrit lyrico-dramatic compositions. Thus he has placed a firm foot in the area of north-south divisiveness, laying emphasis on love poetry wreathed in songs.

This work constitutes an important stage in the attempts of bringing Sanskrit and Tamil on the same platform. G. L. Hart, T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Lienhard, Nadarajah and others have already made refreshing contribution to this building reconciliation of two great languages. This attempt will certainly enrich the prominent currents of literature declining the gentle delicate theme of love.

By discussing Carcari and Lāśya, the writer has re-oriented the ever-abiding love, the eternal theme of Indian literature. He has asserted, that the division in Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava poetry coincides exactly with the one between Puram and Akam respectively and that the epic Mahābhārata was translated into Tamil by the same

poets who composed Caṅkam poetry and the inscriptions. Though inconclusive in nature, the views do indicate some probabilities.

P. G. Lalye.



ARYAN CULTURE IN ASSAM: By Manotosh Chakravarti,
Pub. by School of Vedic Studies, Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta; 1999;
pp. 1-232; Price: Rs. 125/-

In the INTRODUCTION (pp. 1-8) Dr. Chakrabarti states, that he in his book has “....stressed upon....” the socio-religious habits, customs and outlook especially, with reference to the racial identity of the different groups of people (pp.1-2). He also adds, “The aim of the present dissertation is to study the spread of Aryan culture in Assam in various aspects.” He concludes the INTRODUCTION of the work by saying “...the process of Aryanisation was not forceful conversion, rather tactful assimilation” (p.6).

Chapter I (pp. 7-37) indicates the scope of the book under review covers “... a systematic study of the history of expansion and development Aryan culture in Assam in general with a special reference to the areas of Cachar; Sylhet (now in Bangladesh) and the areas of adjoining to the Brahmaputra Valley....”(p.8). The author reviews the opinions of scholars, epic, puranic evidences, the Buddhist canonical literature, the relevant text of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the like literature but failed to arrive at any positive conclusion on the nature of Vedic culture that existed in Ancient Assam: ‘The boundary of ancient state of Pragiyotiṣa was not the same all along..... Moreover, we have no historical records of 3000 years of Assam.... So, the nature of Vedic culture, if anything even prevailed earlier, is bound to be faded in the long interval of periods.’ (p. 33).

Chapter II (pp. 38-57) discusses the royal patronage (c. 500 A.D. - 1900 A.D.), under which the region flourished: religiously, culturally and academically through construction of temples, gift of villages, grant of land, financial grants to the qualified teachers, donation of images, *tulāpuruṣadāna* etc. This topic, i.e., ‘Royal patronage’ has been divided into two parts 500 A.D. - 1200 A.D. under different kings like Bhaskar Barman, Ratnapāla, Rāja Govinda Keśavadeva and many others and 1300 A.D. – 1900 A.D. under the patronage of Ahom kings.

Rock inscriptions, copperplates have also been used as source material.

Chapter III (pp. 58-63) with all the *śrauta* sacrifices performed during 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D. At least three Horse sacrifices were performed by the kings of Varman dynasty. The first in the list was performed Bhutavarman in 600 A.D. Evidences are available of performing other Vedic rites like Vaitānika, Agnihotra, and Agniṣṭoma during 700 A.D. to 1100 A.D.

Chapter IV (pp. 68-87) deals with the *Gṛhya* rites based on Vedic tradition. They are distributed under twelve subtitles like *Gṛhya rites or domestic rituals current in Assam as specimens of Aryan culture in the region surveyed. Prevalence of Vedic ritual (domestic) Annaprāśana among the Manipuri Section of the Hindu community of Cachar, so on and so forth.* Apart from the Assamese and Bengalee-speaking people this discussion also includes *Gṛhya* rites observed by the people belonging to other language groups like Nepali, Manipuri, Bodo, Bodo-Cachari etc.

Chapter V (pp. 88-104) delineates on the "Relation between Vedic and Assamese : indigenous religion and culture." He outlines the Vedic Indrdhvaja festival with reference to the indigenous Bhaitheli festival of the Kaccharis, a branch of the Bodo community and also with the Bhatheli festival by the Hindus and tribes of lower Assam. Dr. Chakrabarti disagrees to accept the origin of Bhaitheli and Bhatheli or Batheli (?) as of Vedic origin as opened by S. C. Goswami and B. K. Barua. He considers it as a purely tribal festival of independent growth. Similarly, the author disagrees to accept the practice of animal sacrifice by strangling on Śiva-caturdaśī as a Vedic survival (cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II.4.8.15). He of course shows reason in favour of his argument. He concludes the chapter with a detailed discussion on some of the rites like *ulu-lu*, *gṛhapraveśa* etc., which are traceable in the Vedic tradition.

Chapter VI (pp. 105-127) concentrates on a detailed inquiry into the influence of Vedic *śākhās*, *gotras*, *sūtras* on the Assame people: Aryan or Aryanised. He laid his statements in details through classified lists. For a reader interested in this topic this chapter appears to be of great interest and use.

Chapter VII (pp. 128-152): "Contribution of Assam to Classical Sanskrit" is divided into ten parts : 1. Elephantology, 2. Upapurāṇas, 3. Tantric works, 4. Smṛti literature, 5. Kāvya literature, 6. Commentaries, 7. Drama literature, 8. Inscriptional poetry, 9. Grammar, Astrology and Āyurvedic works, and 10. Modern Sanskrit compositions.

Hastyāyurveda, a work on Elephantology is a unique Sanskrit work by sage Pālākāpya. The date of the work is yet to be ascertained. Two texts of this work available are (i) Text edited by Śivadatta Sharma, Poona, Anandashram Press, 1894,

(ii) Text (entitled *Gajasūtram*) edited and translated into Tamil by K. S. Subrahmanya Śāstrī from Tanjore, 1958. Though there are differences in these two texts but basically the subject-matter of both is identical, i.e., the treatment of elephant in their ailments.

Of the four Upapurāṇas *Kālikā Purāṇa* (1000 A.D.) is a unique contribution to the Purāṇa literature, P. V. Kane has acquainted the *Svalpa-matsya purāṇa* to the intellectual world outside Assam for the first time. (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Part II pp. 981-984) (p. 134).

Among the works on Tantra, Yoginī Tantra is the most famous. It has got two parts. The first part deals with goddess Kālikā and the second with the holy places of ancient Assam, i.e., Kāmarūpa. (p. 137).

Chapter VIII (pp. 153-183) is entitled 'Impact of Classical Sanskrit on the dialectical Assamese language and Sylhet and Cachar Variety of Bengali languages.' In order to illustrate the impact of Sanskrit on the dialectical Assamese the author illustrates ten words and a passage as examples whereas in order to illustrate the same from the dialects of Sylhet and Cachar he gives more than hundred examples. Present Assamese dialects are population-wise and area-wise much greater in number and size than the dialects of Sylhet and Cachar. Consequently, the treatment of the topic in this chapter becomes disproportionate. Moreover, in the title of the chapter instead of 'Bengali languages' Bengali dialects should have been more appropriate.

Chapter IX (pp. 184-199) is a survey of the modern publications and present position of Vedic studies in Assam. Dr. Chakrabarti starts this discussion with : "We admit Vedic publications in Assam are very limited in number, since Vedic culture reached this region (Assam) when it began to wane in the main-land i.e. when Vedic religion (or Vedism) was assuming the modified form of Hinduism." (p. 164). He classifies the present-day publications under three categories:

1. Translation from original Vedic texts
2. Translation from original treatment
3. Original treatment

While discussing the modern publications under second category he pursues discussion in details on Jogira Basu's *Vedar Parichay* (Assamese) originally written in Bengali under the title *Veder Parichay* by Dr. Basu. The present reviewer feels the necessity to bring to notice that no mention has been made in this chapter of

Dr. Basu's principal work on Vedic studies, *India of the Age of the Brāhmaṇas* with a Foreward by Louis Renou, published by Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta in 1969. This is a book of vital necessity not only for the Sanskrit scholars but also for the scholars interested in Ancient Indian History.

Chapter X (pp. 200-214) entitled 'Present trend of culture in Assam' discusses on the following points: 'The nature of saptāha-yajña elaborated', 'Evidence of Aryan culture from the celebration Gāyatrī Mahāyajña in Assam examined', 'Role of Viśva Hindu Pariṣad in Aryan Culture....', 'Role of Śrīcāitanya Gauḍīya Maṭha in regeneration of Aryan culture in Assam....', 'Aryan culture evident in Assam from the Census Report of India, 1971.'

In the CONCLUSION of his book Dr. Chakrabarti opines: "Thus the statement of Sanskrit Commission that 'Vedic tradition has almost become extinct in Assam' may be partially true but not wholly. Everything undergoes change with lapse of time..... In time, Vedic culture has been flowing, though from much later period, (compared with Mid-land) in the heart of the people of Assam, like an inflow of an outwardly invisible river."

Peculiar printing mistakes have been observed. For example, 'contegorically' for 'categorically'. In the same page, it is difficult to get the meaning of the sentence starting with, "Assamese Brahmins" etc. and ending with, "as enjoined in the śāstras." Footnote 20 is missing in p. 127, Dr. Chakrabarti describes the Khasi-Jaintia people as matriarchal, they, however, speak about themselves as 'matrilineal.' The book is missing an INDEX.

Dr. Chakrabarti says in the INTRODUCTION of his work, "...we have stressed upon....the socio-religious habits, customs and outlook especially, with reference to the racial identity of the different groups of people." (p. 2). Accordingly, he has covered almost all the aspects as he planned, hardly investigated so far by any scholar so comprehensively in one work, and he reached his goal fairly well. Thanks and approval are done to him for this thorough work.

Uma Chakravarty



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[Date in bracket denotes the date of acknowledgement.]

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Pandit Vamana Balakrishna Bhagavat Guruji

b. 24-1-1918]

[d. 9-2-2004

Pandit Vamanshastri Bhagavat, one of the most erudite traditional Pandits of this country breathed his last on 9th February 2004 at the age of 86. In his death the country has lost the last link in the three hundred year old tradition of oriental learning in Maharashtra.

Bhagavat Guruji, as he was popularly known, was born on 24th January 1918. He received his primary education at Sangli and Ichalkaranji in Maharashtra. His career as a Sanskrit grammarian was, however, shaped in Banaras and subsequently in Pune under the guidance of learned Pandits like Laxmanshastri Murgudkar and Ganeshshastri Mokate. After having successfully passed all the examinations in Sanskrit grammar, organized by various boards from places like Baroda, Pune and Varanasi, Guruji started teaching Sanskrit in a school. He joined the Balamukunda Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya of Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth at Pune as its Principal in 1947 and retired in 1978 after serving the institute for nearly four decades. The Balamukunda Sanskrit Mahavidyala was, in fact, his *karmabhūmi*. Guruji organized graded Sanskrit examinations in order to popularize Sanskrit among school children. The State of Maharashtra owes its high standard of Sanskrit learning to this solid foundation laid down by Guruji and his colleagues. A teacher par excellence, Guruji taught Sanskrit language, literature and shastra with the same ease and skill. His perfect mastery of the subject accompanied by his effective method of teaching made learning in his class an enjoyable event. Supreme clarity was the distinct feature of his teaching. Guruji was not only a teacher of Sanskrit language and shastra; he taught his own philosophy of life which consisted in simple living and high thinking. Always clothed in white, Guruji was a message incarnate of purity of body, mind and soul.

Guruji has made valuable contribution to studies in Sanskrit grammar by writing a number of books. His edition of the first kāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya with Svopajñavṛtti, translated and annotated in Marathi, the annotated edition of Paramalaghumañjuṣā, a monograph on Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar and his participation in critically editing the Mahābhāṣyadīpikā at this Institute evince his deep scholarship. Recently he started working on Sūktiratnākara of Śeṣanārāyaṇa. He completed the work of editing the first two Āhnikas. He could not, however, continue the work due to his illness.

Guruji was honoured with many awards and citations, D. Litt. from Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapith Tirupati and a certificate of Merit from the President of India, to

mention a few. Bhagavat Guruji was an ideal teacher. Though a traditional Pandit he was never averse to modern research and research methodology. He was aware of the shortcomings of traditional scholarship and always encouraged new approaches. An appropriate blending of old and new was a striking feature of his personality.

I pay my respectful homage to my revered Guruji.

-- Saroja Bhate



Dr. C. G. Kashikar

b. 17-8-1910]

[d. 28-12-2003

Prof. Dr. Chintaman Ganesh Kashikar expired on December 28, 2003, at a mature age of ninety-three. In his demise the world of orientalists has lost an ardent researcher of Vedic ritual and a profound traditional Pandit. He combined in himself exquisitely a traditional Indian Pandit and a modern researcher well equipped with historical, critical and rational outlook. The Pandit and professor in him well-balanced each other. He had adequate knowledge of Avesta and the Iranian ritual, for a real and comprehensive comparative studies of Iranian and Vedic ritual traditions. He had a mastery over English and German languages and was well-known for his immaculate style of Sanskrit writing and oratory. Rich in original and faithful translations of ritual sutras of various Vedic schools, his personal life was marked by extra-ordinary simplicity of Gandhian saint. He always used simple khadi clothes and was a man of few wants. To us, his pupils, he was not only a great teacher and profound scholar, but equally a great man. His death has caused an irreparable loss to his pupils and a number of Institutions in Pune and elsewhere that have been greatly benefited by his active participation, unflinching devotion and wise and accurate guidance.

Born on August 17, 1910, in a family of *Vaidikas*, living in Satara, a small township in the State of Maharashtra, Dr. Kashikar had his school education in the National School, of the town. A staunch follower of the national education movement in the pre-independence days, he joined the Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Pune, a college then affiliated to the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth (TMV) and earned his degrees *Vāṇmaya Viśārada* (B. A.) and *Vāṇmaya Pāraṅgata* (M. A.). For the *Pāraṅgata* degree, he wrote a thesis titled 'Cultural History of the R̥gvedic Period (Marathi)' which was subsequently published by TMV (1935). In 1933, he joined the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala (VSM), Pune, to collaborate with Pt. N. S. Sontakke in the ambitious research project of bringing out a new critical edition of the R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary. This edition, called as Poona edition (1936-1951), was based on the two earlier editions, the first by Max Mueller (1849-1874) and the other, the Bombay edition prepared by Rajaram Shastri Bodas and Shivaram Shastri Gore (1888-1890). The Poona edition followed the principles laid down by Max Mueller, but also used new and older MSS, and more over, had the unique advantage of the oral tradition. The edition was a valuable contribution to Vedic studies because of a more correct text of the *Samhitā* and the commentary, as well as a

critical edition of the *Khila* hymns of the R̥gveda. The text of the *Khilas*, critically edited by Dr. Kashikar, is more complete as it includes the *Khila* hymns as found in the Kashmir MSS and the text published by Scheftelowitz in his *Apocryphen des R̥gveda* (1906).

Another important project that the VSM undertook was that of the *Śrautakośa*, an encyclopaedia of Vedic sacrificial ritual. Dr. Kashikar was entrusted with the Sanskrit Section of that work. The original plan of the work consisted of three volumes that included a systematic arrangement of the relevant portions from the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* related to the *Śrauta* sacrifices. Dr. Kashikar prepared two out of three volumes. The first Volume, consisting of the seven *haviryajñas* and the *Pitṛmedha*, was published in 1958, while he was working in the VSM. At the behest of Dr. R. N. Dandekar, he relinquished his position at the VSM in 1967 and joined the newly established Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit of the University of Poona. He however continued with the project, and completed another volume consisting of two parts. The first part of Volume II included the *Agniṣṭoma* (1970), and the other, the *Soma* sacrifices beginning with the *Atyagniṣṭoma* and ending with the *Aptoryāma* (1989). It was not possible for him to take up the work of the third and the last Volume due to his old age. The remaining part of the project thus remains incomplete for want of a scholar, capable and willing to take up such an arduous task.

While working on the *Śrautakośa* project, Dr. Kashikar began to study Vedic ritual. Following the steps of W. Caland, he acquired proficiency in *editio princeps* of Śrauta texts. He also gained sound traditional knowledge of Vedic ritual from Śrautācārya Dhundiraj Shastri Bapat and undertook an independent project of a critical edition and an English translation of the *Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra*. The work, published in two parts (1964), was submitted to the University of Poona for the award of the D. Litt. Degree by Research. It is to be noted that Dr. Kashikar was the first recipient of that kind of degree of the University of Poona.

Along with the textual study of Vedic ritual, Dr. Kashikar participated in a number of Śrauta performances and gained practical knowledge that was essential for a correct understanding of Vedic ritual. He took part as one of the priests in the *Vājapeya* sacrifice performed in Pune in 1956 and also prepared a booklet about that sacrifice. In 1975, he attended with his pupils and colleagues the *Sāgnicitya Atirātra* sacrifice that was specially arranged in Panjal (Kerala) by an international committee of scholars headed by Prof. F. Staal. Needless to say that Dr. Kashikar was of immense help in solving various practical problems connected with the performance of that sacrifice.

There are about twenty books and over a hundred articles written by Dr. Kashikar on Vedic and allied subjects. His attention was mainly focussed around the Vedic ritualistic studies. There are several works critical editions and translations of Śrauta texts and monographs on Vedic rituals to his credit: *The Śrauta Ritual and the Vājapeya Sacrifice* (1955), *A Survey of the Śrauta Sūtras* (1968), *A Critical Analysis of the Vedic Sacrificial Religion* (Marathi) (1972), *Hautrika: A Critical Edition of Kātyāyana Hautra Pariśiṣṭa together with Karka's Commentary and an English Translation* (1984), *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* (1989) and *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra Vols. I-IV: A Corrected Text with an annotated English Translation* (2003). The last publication, released just a few months before his death, evinces the deep insight and stupendous industry on part of Dr. Kashikar and may rightfully be called his *magnum opus*. Through all these works and several articles, Dr. Kashikar has tried to shed light on the intricacies of Vedic ritual. He also wrote extensively on the home of Vedic schools and proposed new and ingenious theories about the formation and growth and the migrations and mutual relations of the Vedic schools through the ages. His researches on this subject have provided a great tool for further research. Dr. Kashikar's works are the *sine qua non* for a serious student of Vedic ritual.

Indian classical medicine, i.e., Āyurveda, was one of the favourite subjects of Dr. Kashikar. For some years, he delivered lectures on the history and philosophy of Āyurveda for the students in one of the Āyurveda colleges in Pune. For his own study, he read J. Jolly's *Medicin* (1901), a pioneering work on the history of Indian medicine, prepared an English translation of that work, enriched it with copious bibliographical notes and published it on his own (1951). A second revised edition of that work has been brought out some years ago (1977). His lectures on the history of Indian plants delivered in Marathi at Nagpur University have also been published (1975). A mention must be made of his research on the Soma plant, published under the title *Identification of Soma* (1990). The work is a result of his researches in that subject and correspondence for several years with Dr. S. Mahdihassan, a great scholar of ancient alchemy and chemistry from Pakistan, who also agrees with Dr. Kashikar in identifying Soma as *ephedra*.

Dr. Kashikar was not content only with editing and translating the Vedic texts. He tried to educate common man by means of popular articles and lectures on the meaning and importance of Vedas. At the suggestion of Shri. J. S. Tilak, his bosom friend and editor of Daily 'Kesari', Dr. Kashikar wrote a series of articles in Marathi on a variety of topics. The articles were subsequently published by TMV under the title '*Aspects of Vedic Culture* (Marathi)' (1972). He has written several articles in Marathi, Sanskrit and Hindi for newspapers and magazines.

Dr. Kashikar worked in a number of Institutions: as Secretary and Editor, VSM (1933-67), Reader, Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona (1967-74), and Editor, Sanskrit Dictionary Project, Deccan College, Pune (1974-82). All these years of his life were full of academic activities. His close association and active participation and guidance have immensely benefited several institutions in Pune. He held responsible positions at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vedaśāstrottejaka Sabhā, Pune Vedapāṭhaśālā and Bhārat Gāyan Samāj. Not many people know that he was a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and in his young age was a devoted worker of the Congress Party of India.

Of the many institutions with which Dr. Kashikar was associated, no other was so close to his heart as the TMV, his *Alma Mater*. He served the TMV in various capacities: Honorary Professor, Member of the Executive Council and the Academic Council, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Fine Arts and Acting Vice Chancellor. He collaborated with Dr. H. R. Diwekar, Acharya V. P. Limaye and Dr. R. N. Dandekar in the *Kauśika-sūtra Project* of the TMV. The first volume of the Project, a critical edition of *Dārila's Bhāṣya* on that *Sūtra* was published in 1972 and the second one, a critical edition of *Keśava's Paddhati*, in 1985. I have had the great fortune of working with these eminent scholars in the said project and, particularly, with Dr. Kashikar, under whose able guidance I worked for my Ph. D. thesis on the *Bhaiṣajyāni in the Kauśika-sūtra* (1972-77). Even after his retirement from the services of other Institutions, Dr. Kashikar continued to work as Honorary Professor of the Department of Sanskrit of TMV, guiding students and conducting research until the last moment of his life (1981-2003). While working on a number of Vedic texts, he undertook a research project of preparing a supplement to Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, incorporating into it an index to the *mantra-pādas* and *pratikas* sifted from more than forty Vedic texts that include revised editions of older texts or editions of newly available ones. The first phase of the project was completed with the generous financial assistance of the TMV and the University Grants Commission, New Delhi. The work is now undergoing certain modifications and is expected to be available in the form of CD-ROM in the near future. A revised edition of the *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra*, prepared by Dr. Kashikar in collaboration with Pt. Radhesyam Sastri, Delhi, is reported to be in press.

Dr. Kashikar received a number of honours and awards for his outstanding contributions to Sanskrit studies: from Devadeveśvar Saṁsthān, Pune (1987), Sri Guru Gaṅgeśvarānand Pratiṣṭhān, Nasik (1989), President of India (1989), honorary D. Litt. of TMV (1994) and the prestigious award of the Asiatic Society, Mumbai. (The last one had been announced some months before his death).

As a man, Dr. Kashikar was a very kind-hearted person, always caring for his relations, friends and pupils. He had a very happy family life. The members of his family too welcomed and paid respect to his visitors. He would look into the academic as well as personal problems of his pupils in a rational way and would offer a proper advice. He had deep faith in God and religion; but he was not dogmatic. His daily life was always busy and disciplined, engaged mainly in academic activities. Seldom he found time to pay visits to his acquaintances and friends, but maintained good social relations. Though serious by nature, he would appreciate good humour in a close circle of friends. He would understand and enjoy Indian classical music and had learnt playing instrumental music on *dilruba*.

“Blessed is he”, says Carlyle, “who has found his work: let him ask for no other blessedness.” Dr. Kashikar was endowed with such blessedness. He found great satisfaction and immense pleasure in the work to which he dedicated his whole life. He asked for no other blessedness. Further generations of scholars, I am sure, will always remain indebted to Dr. Kashikar and take inspiration from his life and work.

-- S. S. Bahulkar



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